

POLITBURO
And
The CHURCH

Kremlin Archives

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Book I

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134) Note by the head of the Secret Department of the OGPU TD Deribas to the Assistant General Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) L. Z. Mehlis about the death of Patriarch Tikhon. April 8, 1925

135) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the procedure for publishing a report on the death of Patriarch Tikhon. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 56, paragraph 30 of April 9, 1925

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1) Appeal of a group of representatives of the Petrograd, Saratov and Moscow "progressive clergy" to the believers of the Russian Orthodox Church (original edition). May 10, 1922

2) A petition by a group of representatives of the Petrograd, Saratov and Moscow "progressive clergy" to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for pardoning those sentenced to death in the case of Moscow clergy and believers (original version). May 10, 1922

3) A post-telegram from L. D. Trotsky to members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) about the appeal of the group of "progressive clergy" and the tasks of the press. May 14, 1922

4) V. I. Lenin's note to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) about post-telegram No. 357 from L. D. Trotsky dated May 14, 1922 [About May 15-16, 1922]

5) JV Stalin's note to the members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the approval of the post-telegram No. 357 from LD Trotsky dated May 14, 1922 - "as directives of the Central Committee to newspapers." May 16, 1922

6) "Bulletin No. 1 of the 6th branch of the SOGPU for the time from 3 / VIII to 8 / VIII s / y. on the progress of the All-Russian congress of clergy "Living Church" "August 9, 1922

7) "Bulletin No. 2 of the VI branch of the SOGPU on the progress of the All-Russian congress of the clergy of the" Living Church "group, during the period from the 9th to the 111th * August this year" August 12, 1922

8) Note by I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, member of the Commission on Anti-Religious Propaganda of the Agitprop Department of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), to the head of the Agitprop Department of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A.S.Bubnov, on the results of his trip to the Bryansk province on August 25, 1922.

9) "Minutes No. 18 of the meeting of the Commission on Values" on the composition and functions of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). October 17, 1922

10) A post-telegram from L. D. Trotsky to the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the urgent approval of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of Protocol No. 18 - "Commission on Church Values" on the composition and functions of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). October 17, 1922

11) V. M. Molotov's note to L. D. Trotsky regarding his post-telegram on the procedure for approving the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of the composition and functions of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). October 17, 1922

12) Telephone message from LB Kamenev to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the introduction of M. I. Kalinin into the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). October 17, 1922

13) Minutes No. 1 of the organizational meeting of the Commission for the separation of church from state (Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)). October 17, 1922

14) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the composition of the "commission on anti-religious propaganda" (Anti-religious commission of the

Central Committee of the RCP (b)). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 32, paragraph 4 of October 19, 1922

15) "Minutes No. 1 * 11 * of the meeting of the Commission for the separation of the church from the state" (Anti-religious commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)) dated October 23, 1922

16) Theses of the member of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov on the tasks of anti-religious propaganda [Between 23 and 31 October 1922 r.]

17) Report of the head of the VI branch of the Secret Department of the GPU E. A. Tuchkov of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on Tikhonovism" on October 30, 1922

18) "Minutes No. 2 of the meeting of the Commission for the separation of the church from the state" (Anti-religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)). October 31, 1922

19) Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. November 4, 1922

20) Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. November 28, 1922

21) Note by A.S.Bubnov, head of the Agitprop Department of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), to the Politburo on the replenishment of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and a draft decision of the Politburo on this. November 29, 1922

22) Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. December 12, 1922

23) Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. January 1, 1923

24) Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. January 17, 1923

25) Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Orgburo No. 89, paragraph 41 of January 18, 1923

26) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 45, paragraph 9 of January 25, 1923

27) Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. February 16, 1923

28) Note by the chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E.M. Yaroslavsky to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the issue of the Renovation Council on the agenda of the Politburo meeting. February 28, 1923

29) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the postponement of the discussion of the

question of the Renovation Council. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 52, paragraph 32 of March 1, 1923

30) Memorandum of the head of the VI branch of the Secret Department of the GPU E.A. Tuchkov to the chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E.M. Yaroslavsky on the directive to the Renovation Council on the procedure for governing the church. March 1, 1923

31) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a directive to the Renovation Council on the preservation of the Supreme Church Administration. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 54, paragraph 11 of March 8, 1923

32) Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. March 22, 1923

33) Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Organizing Bureau No. 2, item 1 of May 2, 1923

34) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 3, paragraph 29 of May 10, 1923

35) Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on replacing the Central Committee of the RCP (b) in the Anti-Religious Commission. From the minutes of the meeting of the Organizing Bureau No. 11, paragraph 21 of June 4, 1923

36) Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Orgburo No. 12, paragraph 27 of June 8, 1923

37) Note by LB Kamenev and JV Stalin to the People's Commissar of Justice DI Kurskiy on the inadmissibility of "prohibiting the teaching of religion with a group character." July 2, 1923

38) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on replacing the Central Committee of the RCP (b) in the Anti-Religious Commission. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 14, paragraph 32 of July 3, 1923

39) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 14, paragraph 33 of July 3, 1923

40) Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on anti-religious propaganda. From the minutes of the meeting of the Plenum No. 3, paragraph 4 of July 4, 1923

41) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on drawing up a "circular on anti-religious propaganda From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 16, paragraph 46 of July 12, 1923.

42) Memorandum of the elders and parishioners of Moscow, Minsk and Kharkov to the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR on the illegal closure of synagogues in various cities of the USSR [Not later than July 20, 1923]

43) LB Kamenev's note to VM Molotov on the draft circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on anti-religious propaganda [July 20, 1923]

44) "Minutes No. 31 of the meeting of the Commission for the separation of church from state" (Anti-religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)). July 21, 1923

45) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the approval of the resolution on anti-religious agitation and propaganda. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 19, paragraph 35 of July 27, 1923

46) Draft circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on excesses in anti-religious agitation and practice, proposed by the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) [Not later than July 30, 1923]

47) Note by P.G.Smidovich, member of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), to JV Stalin on the draft circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). July 30, 1923

48) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the adoption of the circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 25, item 12 of August 16, 1923

49) Circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) No. 30 "on the attitude towards religious organizations." August 16, 1923

50) Memorandum of the secretary of the Central Committee of the CP (b) U D. Z. Lebed to the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a refusal to open a choral synagogue in Kharkov. September 11, 1923

51) "Brief information report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)" to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done [Between September 15 and 25, 1923]

52) The draft resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the development of instructions for the registration of religious societies, proposed by the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) [Not later than November 1, 1923]

53) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on "questions of the anti-religious commission. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 41, paragraph 15 of November 1, 1923

54) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the development of instructions on the registration of religious societies and on Muslim theological schools. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 43, paragraph 20 of November 10, 1923

55) Note by the Deputy Chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) NN Popov to IV Stalin on the immediate approval of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of the instruction on the registration of religious societies [Between November 16 and 22, 1923]

56) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the "draft instruction on the registration of religious societies." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 47, paragraph 13 of November 22, 1923

57) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on "a draft instruction on the registration of religious societies. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 49, paragraph 17 of November 29, 1923

58) Draft Instruction on the Registration of Orthodox Religious Societies [Not later than February 26, 1924]

59) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the approval of the instruction on the registration of Orthodox religious societies. From the

minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 73, paragraph 23 of February 26, 1924

60) Letter from a group of communists in the city of Usman, Voronezh province, to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee about excesses in the church policy of local authorities. June 25, 1924

61) Summary of the head of the VI Department of the Secret Department of the OGPU E. A. Tuchkov "excesses on the basis of the closure of churches and the actions of Komsomol members." July 4, 1924

62) MI Kalinin's letter to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to JV Stalin on the non-fulfillment at the local level of the circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the attitude towards religious organizations. July 8, 1924

63) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the Deputy Chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 27, paragraph 37 of October 9, 1924

64) Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Organizing Bureau No. 37, item 17 of October 17, 1924

65) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 30, paragraph 45 of October 23, 1924

66) Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on excesses in the church policy of the local

authorities of Georgia. From the minutes of the meeting of the Plenum No. 8, paragraph 2c of October 27, 1924

67) Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Orgburo No. 46, item 63 of November 28, 1924

68) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 39, paragraph 36 of December 4, 1924

69) Letter from the chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E.M. Yaroslavsky and the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR G.V. Chicherin to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a request to adopt the provision on the Catholic doctrine in the USSR. December 6, 1924

70) The draft statute of Catholic doctrine in the USSR, proposed by the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) [Not later than December 9, 1924]

71) Letter from the USSR People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G.V. Chicherin to the members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), the collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the distribution of documents regarding the Catholic doctrine in the USSR. December 9, 1924

72) Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on the draft statute on the Catholic doctrine" in the USSR. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 40, paragraph 2A of December 11, 1924

Arhive source: Kremlin archives. In 2 books. / Book. 1. Politburo and Church. 1922-1925 - M. - Novosibirsk, "Russian Political Encyclopedia" (ROSSPEN), "Siberian Chronograph", 1997, pp. 113-115

Archive: CA FSB. Special archive, d. 1780, v. 2, fol. 60 - rev. Certified typewritten copy of the time.

On confiscation of church valuables

Appeal of Patriarch Tikhon to the clergy and believers of the Russian Orthodox Church regarding the seizure of church values. 15/28 February 1922

No. 23-1

BY GOD'S MERCY, HUME TIKHON, PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW AND ALL RUSSIA, TO ALL THE FAITHFUL CHILDREN OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

GRACE OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST LET IT BE WITH YOU.

In the midst of severe trials and calamities, having brought down our land for our iniquities, the greatest and most terrible famine is the famine that has taken over a vast area with a population of many millions.

Back in August 1921, when rumors of this terrible calamity began to reach us, we, considering it our duty to come to the aid of our suffering spiritual children, sent messages to the heads of individual Christian churches (Orthodox Patriarchs, Pope, Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop New York [to] sky) with an appeal, in the name of Christian love, to collect money and food and send them to the population of the Volga region dying of hunger.

At the same time, We founded the All-Russian Church Committee for Aid to the Famine, and in all churches and among certain groups of believers began collecting money intended to help the starving. But such an ecclesiastical organization was recognized by the Soviet Government as unnecessary, and all the sums of money collected by the church were demanded for surrender (and surrendered) to the Government Committee. However, in December, the Government suggested that we do, through the bodies of church administration (the Holy Synod, the Supreme [his] Church [ovny] Council, the Diocesan Council, the Dean relief to the hungry 1 .

Wishing to increase the possible assistance to the population of the Volga region dying of hunger, We found it possible to allow parish

councils and communities to donate precious church decorations and items that do not have liturgical use for the needs of the starving people, about which we notified the Orthodox population on February 6/19 of this year. a special appeal, which was authorized by the Government for printing and distribution among the population 2 .

But after this, after sharp attacks in government newspapers, in relation to the spiritual leaders of the Church, on February 13/26 V.Ts.I.K. sacred vessels and so on. liturgical church items 3 .

From the point of view of the Church, such an act is an act of sacrilege, and we considered it our sacred duty to clarify the Church's view of this act, and also to notify our faithful spiritual children of this.

We allowed, in view of extremely difficult circumstances, the possibility of donating church items that were not consecrated and did not have liturgical use. We call upon the believing children of the Church even now to such donations, only one wishing that these donations would be a response of a loving heart to the needs of their neighbors, if only they would really provide real help to our suffering brothers. But we cannot approve of the removal from churches, even through a voluntary donation, of sacred objects, the use of which is not for liturgical purposes is prohibited by the canons of the Ecumenical Church and is punished by It as sacrilege, a layman by excommunication from Her, a clergyman by eruption from dignity (apostle [Olskoe] rule 73, Two-time Ecumenical Council [,] right [or] 10).

Given in Moscow

February 15, 1922.

THE SMIRED TIKHON, PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW AND ALL RUSSIA 4 .

- L. 7-rev. A typewritten copy of that time, made between 1 and 8 March 1922 in the Secret Department of the Moscow City Department of the GPU and certified by its secretary A. N.

Pryanikov. Above L. 7 handwritten litter: “v. Molotov ". There is also a stamp about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 111, paragraph 33 of March 13, 1922 (No. 23-5).

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 6 - rev. Another certified copy of the same typewritten bookmark with the same certification signature. Above L. 6 handwritten litter: “v. Lenin "

- Here is the stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with a handwritten entry number.

-TSA FSB. Special archive, d. 1780, v. 2, fol. 60 - rev. Certified typewritten copy of the time.

- Published: Bulletin of the Russian student Christian movement. 1970. No. 98. S. 61-63; Acts of His Holiness Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, later documents and correspondence on the canonical succession of the highest ecclesiastical authority. 1917-1943. M., 1994.S. 188, 190; Archpriest V. Tsypin. History of the Russian Orthodox Church. 1917-1990. M., 1994.S. 231, 232.

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the GPU, sent on March 8, 1922, on behalf of I.S.Unshlikht, to V.M. The letter has a stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 111, paragraph 33 of March 13, 1922 (No. 23-5). (L. 6).

The copy of the RCKHIDNI contains a cover letter of the same content with the same date and signature, sent to VI Lenin. The letter bears the stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with the handwritten date "15 / III" and the entry number. (L. 5).

1In his testimony on May 5, 1922 at the Polytechnic Museum at the trial of "Moscow churchmen", Patriarch Tikhon outlined the history of these negotiations and the appearance of patriarchal appeals dated February 6 and 28, 1922. 1921, Pomgol's positive answer came only in December of this year. “I was sent to Pomgol, as an expert in

this matter, Archpriest Tsvetkov, he worked in this area more than once in 1911-1912. In Pomgol, they negotiated with Comrade Vinokurov, who is in charge of this business. Comrade Vinokurov expressed the wish that our Church would go to help the hungry and donate from her values. Archpriest Tsvetkov said that there are things in the Church that we cannot sacrifice according to our canons. Comrade Vinokurov said to this that we do not demand this, but it is good if you donate pendants, stones, then jewelry. Tsvetkov informed me of this. I then agreed to it; since I knew that proclamations should be issued with the knowledge of the authorities, I submitted to Pomgol a draft of my proclamation on what should be sacrificed, what should be donated. At the same time, I meant that the church property itself was transferred to the community of believers, and I expressed myself in such a way that, for my part, I allow donating such and such things, this appeal was later approved by Pomgol [...]. Then an instruction was drawn up on how to carry out this business, by the way, such a clause was included in the instruction - that all these church donations are voluntary. Then a few days later, when the appeal was published — five days later — the Central Committee issued a decree to take everything away. It seemed strange to us: on the one hand, an agreement is underway with us, on the other hand, a decree is issued behind the back to take everything away, and there is no talk of any agreements. Comrade Vinokurov himself threw out from the instruction the point that he himself had emphasized earlier, namely, that these donations are voluntary. " The patriarch reported further that he had sent a letter to M. I. Kalinin in which he protested against this drastic change in the position of the authorities on the question of the voluntariness of church donations. "I asked in a letter from Mikhail Ivanovich that this point be restored, that it was a voluntary consent, and what else we would have to inform the population, so to speak, and there was no answer." In response to inquiries from the laity and the clergy about the beginning of withdrawals, the patriarch “issued a letter [...] and expressed the view of the church canons, but, of course,

The testimony of Patriarch Tikhon that the publication of his appeal of February 6, 1922 was officially approved by the authorities (Pomgol's Central Committee) is fully documented. A copy printed in the state printing house (10th printing house of the Ministry of National Economy) in the form of a leaflet has survived, where, after the text of the appeal, a message is typed about the permission of the Pomgol Central Committee to print this appeal (see No. P-5).

Giving these testimonies, the patriarch, of course, could not know that in fact the approval of the text of the appeal took place at a much higher level than Pomgol - at the level of the Politburo. At a meeting on February 9, 1922, the Politburo decided "to allow the publication of a separate sheet" of Patriarch Tikhon's appeal for aid to the starving (see No. P-8). In the paperwork of this meeting (draft minutes), NV Tsvetkov's autograph of the announcement in newspapers about the participation of the Russian Orthodox Church in helping the hungry (see No. P-7) was preserved. For instructions on the procedure for collecting church donations, mentioned by the patriarch, see No. P-6. There is also approved by A. N. Vinokurov and N. V. Tsvetkov "Regulations on the participation of the Orthodox Russian Church in helping the starving" dated 01.02.1922 (see No. P-4).

In all these documents, church donations were viewed as purely voluntary, and the whole process of collecting these donations, their concentration and direction to the hungry had to take place under the constant supervision of not only Pomgol, but also the church organization at all its levels, from the church headman and priest to the bishop and patriarch. It was a real agreement between the state and the church on joint conflict-free work to raise church funds to help the hungry.

Since the Patriarch's appeal of February 6, 1922, which was part of this compromise, was textually approved at the highest government level in the country, it is legally very strange that the accusations of disseminating this message as a counterrevolutionary document, made during the trials against the clergy, look very strange. It was qualified as a crime that the patriarch blessed the donation of only

those items that did not have liturgical significance. But it is clear that in working out the conditions for this compromise, emphasizing the voluntary nature of the agreement that developed the proposals of the patriarch in August 1921, the Church could not agree to anything else.

2 See this appeal: No. P-5 with the date "February 6, 1922", and the Politburo resolution on its publication (minutes No. 94, item 36 of February 9, 1923) - No. P-8. The date of this appeal given in the text of document No. 23-1 "February 6/19" is also indicated in the "Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ..." on p. 187, but how dubious: "06 (19) (?) 02.1922". In fact, the date "February 6, 1922", affixed with the signature of Patriarch Tikhon on the original copy of the appeal, written by the hand of Archpriest N. Tsvetkov and sent by him to the Central Committee of Pomgol with a cover letter dated February 7, is a date of the new, not the old style. This is evidenced by the date of discussion of the document at the Politburo - February 9, and the date of permission to publish the Central Committee of Pomgol - February 11 (see the leaflet with the text of the appeal - GARF, f. 353, op. 5, d. 254, p. 4).

3 See No. P-9. Patriarch Tikhon indicates in document No. 23-1 the date of publication of the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The date of the adoption of this decree of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee "on the confiscation of church valuables for sale to help the starving" is February 16, 1922. This date is often indicated when referring to the decree in the correspondence of various Soviet and party bodies. The date "February 23, 1922" was also often called. - the date placed when the decree was published in newspapers and the SU.

4The "Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ..." published by the Orthodox St. Tikhon Theological Institute contains the text of the "Secret Instruction" of Patriarch Tikhon "on the attitude towards the confiscation of church valuables" (p. 191) with the date "02.1922". This instruction, in particular, said: “We angrily reject and punish by excommunication even a voluntary donation of sacred vestments and bowls: it is important not what to give, but to whom to give.

Reading the lines of Our Message, indicate about this flock of yours at the meetings where you can and must fight against the confiscation of values. We allow to give only scrap and pendants from images ... " : the source of publication in this edition by the late M.E. Gubonin (who also collected the apocrypha) indicated only the text of the indictment in the case of Patriarch Tikhon (Indictment in the case of citizens: Bellavin Vasily Ivanovich, Fenomenov Nikandr Grigorievich, Stadnitsky Arseny Georgievich and Guriev Petr Viktorovich according to 62 and 119 articles of the Criminal Code. M. , 1923) and two popular anti-religious publications dependent on him (no pages indicated). But in fact, there is no mention of this document in the Indictment, and they would certainly appear if he somehow became known in the Lubyanka. 1923) and two popular anti-religious publications dependent on him (no pages indicated). But in fact, there is no mention of this document in the Indictment, and they would certainly appear if he somehow became known in the Lubyanka. 1923) and two popular anti-religious publications dependent on him (no pages indicated). But in fact, there is no mention of this document in the Indictment, and they would certainly appear if he somehow became known in the Lubyanka.

Minutes No. 1 of the meeting in the GPU on the campaign to confiscate church valuables. March 8, 1922

No. 23-2

TOP SECRET.

PROTOCOL No. 1.

Meetings of Comrades UNSHLIKHT, BAZILEVICH, GALKINA, MEDVEDYA.

UNSHLICHT presides.

LISTENED.

IT WAS RESOLVED.

1. Informational Report of Comrade BAZILEVICH about the failed Report of Comrade GALKIN in the house of the SEAL and information from Comrade UNSHLICHT about TIKHON's letter to the faithful and discussion of it during the service in a number of churches.

1. In view of the publication of the resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the withdrawal of church valuables from existing churches, to carry out such decisively. But, given that the political apparatus of agitation did not show the maximum work to properly prepare the masses for such an act, while the apparatus of the clergy, headed by Tikhon, is expanding its work more and more, the moment of practical implementation of the withdrawal was postponed until the decisive results of our political campaign were obtained.

Political agitation itself can be raised to the proper height only when the Central Committee entrusts the local Gubkoms with the obligation to allocate especially for this work the maximum number of its best workers, obliging them to report weekly on practical achievements in this direction to the Central Commission for ideological and political preparation for the removal of values.

2. To ask the Central Committee to approve the permanent composition of the Central Commission: chairman comrade STEKLOV, members: com. UNSHLIKHT, GALKIN, VORONSKY, SOSNOVSKY, BAZILEVICH, ASHMARIN.

3. To oblige the editors of all newspapers to publish articles on the issue of confiscation of valuables on a daily basis.

4. To involve the State Political Administration staff in this work.

5. To charge the Gubkoms with the organization of debate reports with the wide involvement of groups of hungry people. Disputes of this kind should be conducted in a more organized manner with the mobilization of all party forces.

6. Consider it necessary for the Central Committee to urgently develop abstracts for agitators and instructions for organizing public opinion (letters of gratitude from hungry provinces, reports of representatives of believers accompanying the routes, decisions of church parishioners, etc.).

7. To consider it necessary to broadly cover the state of the starving provinces by organizing mobile exhibitions, cinematographs, the release of transparencies, maps, posters, diagrams, leaflets, etc. Involve Shchentralny ROSTA and the Supreme Editorial Council as organizers and executors of these tasks.

8. Propose to the Central Committee of POMGOL after the first receipt of the valuables to arrange immediately the dispatch of food routes to the starving provinces with an indication that they were obtained through the realization of the valuables.

In view of the enormous interest shown in it, mainly by groups of believers who were hostile, which turned out to be a failed dispute, due to the tightness of the premises, the Conference proposes to oblige the MK to organize on Monday the 13th s / m. a report on the same topic in the Column Hall of the House of Unions, taking steps to mobilize all party forces.

CHAIRMAN Unshlicht

8 / 3-22 1 *

- L. 5 — rev. Typewritten original, signature, date and protocol number - autograph. On l. 5 stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 111, paragraph 33 of March 13, 1922 (No. 23-5).

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the GPU, sent on March 8, 1922, on behalf of I.S.Unshlikht, to V.M. On the letter there is a note: "It was decided without entering in the protocol [about] p / b No. 110 from 9 / III-22" and a stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 111, paragraph 33 of March 13, 1922 (No. 23-5). (L. 4).

1 * Corrected within the meaning, in the document by I.S.Unshlikht 8 / 3-21.

"Minutes No. 1 of the meeting of the Donkom RCP (b) bureau" on measures for the confiscation of church valuables dated March 11, 1922

No. 23-3

SECRET.

Present: Zhakov, Muralov.

The chairman is also secretary Zhakov.

Listened:

Resolved:

1. Report comrade. Muralova on the events in the city in connection with the seizure of church property.

1. Considering the measures taken by the DPO to protect the Commission as unsatisfactory, put in full view of Comrade Emelyanov the lack of management.

2. Noting the inadequacy of the administrative technique of confiscation of church property, to propose to the Commission on Seizure to organize in the morning of March 13 a meeting of the Commission on the detailed development of a technical plan for the inventory, conduct and seizure of church property, using the information of D.P.O. and reducing work in churches to the minimum required only for legal registration and preservation of the prestige of power.

3. Pretend that the Agitprop Department does not comply with the resolution of the DC of 5.III. the lack of consideration of the entire significance and consequences of the seizure of church property in general. Propose to develop vigorous agitation among the troops, the rural population, workers' organizations and urban residents by issuing leaflets, organizing meetings, reports, meetings, lectures, etc.

4. To consider it necessary to take decisive repressive measures against persons opposing the implementation of the decree and

inciting the population as against instigators of a counterrevolutionary rebellion and armed resistance to the Sov. authorities, for which they propose to the CEC to issue a corresponding order, DPO to investigate the events of March 11 and bring the perpetrators to the strictest responsibility.

5. Propose to the Commission and Agitprop. The department should draw attention to the particularly careful preparation of the seizure of church property in the districts.

The chairman, he is also the secretary Zhakov.

- L. 47-48. Certified typewritten copy dated July 8, 1958.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.269, l. 12. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original, signature - autograph "Mikhail Zhakov". Above, crossed out litter: "Orgotd [ate]" and litter by VM Molotov's hand in red ink: " Comrade Burakov [oh] , to the material. 29 / III. (V. Molotov].) ". Here is the incoming number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "24 / III-22".

A note by L. D. Trotsky to the members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the creation of a secret commission for the removal of valuables from Moscow churches. March 11, 1922

A source: Kremlin archives. In 2 books. / Book. 1. Politburo and Church. 1922-1925 - M. - Novosibirsk, "Russian Political Encyclopedia" (ROSSPEN), "Siberian Chronograph", 1997, pp. 119-121

Archive: APRF, f. 3, an. 60, d.23

No. 23-4

FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO

t. to Lenin, Molotov, Kamenev, Stalin.

The work on the removal of valuables from Moscow churches has become extremely confused, in view of the fact that, along with the previously created commissions, the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee created its own commissions - from representatives of PomGol, the chairmen of the Governmental Executive Committees and the Governmental Financial Departments. Yesterday at my commission meeting 5as part of com. Trotsky, Bazilevich, Galkin, Lebedev, Unshlikht, Samoilova-Zemlyachki, Krasikov, Krasnoshchekov and Sapronov, we unanimously came to the conclusion that a secret shock commission should be formed in Moscow, consisting of: chairman - comrade Sapronov, members: comrade Unshlikht (deputy - Medved), Samoilova-Zemlyachka and Galkin. This commission must secretly prepare simultaneously the political, organizational and technical aspects of the matter. The actual withdrawal should start in March and then end as soon as possible. It is only necessary that both the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Presidium of the Moscow Soviet and the Central Committee of Pomgol recognize this commission as the only one in this matter and help it in every way. I repeat - this commission is top secret, the

formal withdrawal in Moscow will come directly from the Central Committee of PomGol, where the so-called

I ask that this resolution be approved as soon as possible, as binding on all, in order to avoid any further confusion.

L. TROTSKY.

- L. 2. Certified typewritten copy made simultaneously with L. 1 (No. 23-6). Dated from a copy of the APRF draft protocol.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.263, l. 61. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original, signature - facsimile. To the left of the signature is the typewritten date: "March 11, 1922". The name of Molotov is underlined in blue pencil in the mailing list. At the top right is a typewritten stamp: “p. secret. " At the bottom of the droppings in pencil, crossed out in red ink, autograph: “For Molotov, interrogate Comrades. Stalin and Kamenev. V. Molotov. 11 / III ". Red ink on the left margin across the text, autograph: “Consider accepted. Secretary of the Central Committee V. Molotov. II / III ". At the top left, a handwritten note about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 111, item 39 of March 13, 1922 (No. 23-6).

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 9. A typewritten copy of that time made in the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and certified by the Deputy Secretary of the Politburo MN Burakova - for VI Lenin. A handwritten note on the ownership of the document in the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 111, item 39 of March 13, 1922 (No. 23-6). To the left of the signature is the date. Stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with handwritten date "25.IV.22." and the incoming number. The word "secret" in the text is inscribed above the line by M. N. Burakova.

- Published: The Trotsky Papers, 1917-1922. Vol. 2 (1920-1922). Paris, 1971. P. 688.

Notes and Comments:

fiveThis refers to one of the commissions created under the leadership of L. D. Trotsky for the seizure and "concentration" of the values of "Romanov", "church" and any other origin (minutes No. 7 of the meeting of this commission dated March 10, 1922, see: No. II-27). LD Trotsky, who had been actively involved in this work for a long time, was appointed in 1921 "the special representative of the Council of People's Commissars for the registration and concentration of values", his deputy was his longtime employee in the Strategic Military Council GD Bazilevich, on November 12, 1921, by the resolution of the Council of People's Commissars, a special " Commission for the Concentration and Accounting of Values "chaired by Trotsky (RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 1, d. 341, l. 12). On January 30, 1922, Trotsky wrote to Lenin about Bazilevich's report on the progress of work "on concentration." Trotsky emphasized that we are talking about the confiscation of valuables "from the local and central institutions of the Cheka, financial departments, museums, palaces, mansions and abolished, that is, converted into simple storehouses of monasteries. In other words, the report does not cover active churches and, in general, all active religious institutions and institutions. The removal of values from these institutions is a special task that is now being prepared politically from different sides. How much this operation can give no one even supposedly can say "(The Trotsky papers, 1917-1922. Vol. 2 (1920-1922). Paris, 1971. P. 670-672). On May 26, 1922, the Politburo adopted, at Trotsky's proposal, a resolution on the liquidation of the Commission for the Concentration and Accounting of Values (Minutes No. 8, p. 1 - APRF, f. 3, op. 35, d. 93, l. 54). At this time, there already existed a special commission composed of Trotsky, created by the decree of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of May 16, 1922 to "maximize the realization of values"

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the admission of "Soviet clergy" to the organs of Pomgol. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 111, paragraph 33 of March 13, 1922

No. 23-5

STRICTLY SECRET

33 - On the temporary admission of the "Soviet" part of the clergy to the organs of Pomgol in connection with the withdrawal of valuables from churches.

(Suggestion] Comrade Trotsky) .

Agree with the proposal of Comrade Trotsky.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 3. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.263, l. 50. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of lined paper. At the bottom left is the mailing record: "Sapronov". For the list of those present, see No. 23-6.

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 13. A typewritten copy of an extract from that time, made in the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and certified by the assistant secretary of the Politburo E. M. Sherlina - for V. I. Lenin. Stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with handwritten date "25.IV.22." and the incoming number.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on the commission for the removal of valuables from Moscow churches." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 111, item 39 of March 13, 1922.

No. 23-6ö, STRICTLY SECRET

By a survey of PB members dated 11 March 22

39. - Approval of the commission for the removal of valuables from Moscow churches .

To approve the commission as part of com. Sapronova - chairman, members of comrades Unshlikht (deputy 1 * - Bear) 1 *. Samoilova-Zemlyachki and Galkin.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 1. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.263, l. 60. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Above there is an entry about the mailing: “Com. Kamenev, Yenukidze, Samoilova-Zemlyachka, Galkin, Unshlikht. " There is no poll line. L. 1: “Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Kamenev, Stalin, Molotov, Trotsky. Members of the Central Committee Comrade Dzerzhinsky, Radek. Member of the Central Control Commission, Comrade Sedoy. "

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 12. A typewritten copy of an extract from that time, made at the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and certified by the assistant secretary of the Politburo E. M. Sherlina - for V. I. Lenin. Stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with handwritten date "25.IV.22." and the incoming number. The parentheses are placed after the word “deputy” and after the surname “Bear”.

Notes and Comments: 1 * In the document (deputy) - Bear, corrected according to No. 23-4.

"Minutes No. 2 of the meeting of the commission for the confiscation of church valuables of the Moscow province" dated March 14, 1922

No. 23-7

Present: com. SAPRONOV, KRASIKOV, VINOKUROV, ARKUS, GALKIN, MEDVED and STUKOV.

Chairman SAPRONOV

Secretary EZERSKAYA

Order of the day:

1. About the competence of the commission.

2. About transport, storage rooms and containers.

3. On the observation of public peace in the confiscation of valuables.

4. Instruction on the procedure for work in district and county issues.

5. The company is oral and printed.

6. About the redemption of objects and the participation of believers in Pomgol.

7. About the device.

LISTENED	**DECIDED**
1. Comrade MEDVEDYA's proposal to remove item 3 from the order of the day.	The issue of observation should be removed from the agenda, obliging Comrade MEDVEDY to report it at the next meeting.
2. On the Competence of the Commission T. SAPRONOV.	Recognize that the existing Competence Commission is Moscow. To instruct Comrade VINOKUROV to clarify the

question of creating an All-Russian Commission for the confiscation of church valuables in the Central Committee and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

3. About premises for storage of valuables, transport and packaging.

1. Create a technical subcommittee consisting of comrades. ARKUSA, MEDVEDYA and BAZILEVICH. Instruct the commission to develop a technical work plan for the confiscation of church valuables within 4 days.
2. Record the statement of Comrade ARKUS that Gokhran [8] has a sufficient number of containers for small items, 100 boxes for large items, another 750 boxes are expected to be received, and it is always possible to produce containers in sufficient quantities.
3. The issue of providing packaging should be charged to develop a technical subcommittee. She will be charged with the question of transport.
4. Propose to the technical subcommittee, within 4 days, to draw [1] * on the map of all Moscow churches with a mark on the mood of believers [1] *.
5. Instruct the technical subcommittee to sort out the inventory of church property and distribute them by district.
6. Establish that the technical subcommittee uses the apparatus of the Gokhran for the preparation of containers, transport and workers' detachments and the apparatus of the Department of the Office for Church Inventories.
7. Instruct the technical subcommittee with the participation of comrade SAPRONOV to collect on Thursday 16 p. m. preliminary

meeting of regional commissions. Not to be summoned to the first meeting of the chairmen of the county commissions; call them for a second.

4. About the device.

Set the place of meetings of the Kremlin [,] VTsIK, the place of duty and reception - the Reception of the Council of People's Commissars.

5. Instruction on the order of work of district and county commissions [9] .

To approve with the following amendments:
a) in paragraph 1, delete everything after the words: 4) head. Department of Management.
b) Introduce a note to clause 4: "Simultaneously with the inventory compiled by the local Council, request from the groups of believers the old inventory of 1914 and the so-called clerical [2] * statements for the same 1914"
c) In clause 6, delete: “not less than one day before arrival at the place” and the phrase in parentheses starting with the word: “at what” and ending with “inventory book”.
d) In clause 7, cross out: "if items are found that are not included in the inventory, they are entered into those."
e) To exclude Clause 13 in its entirety and to insert in its place the clause: “when transporting valuables from the place of confiscation to the place of storage, the Commission is guided by special instructions.”
f) Clause 16 read: "Subcommittees submit to the Central Control Center twice a month by the 5th and 20th day of each month a report

	on the work for the previous period and information on the confiscated values." 2. To establish that a representative of the District Committee or the Ukom of the RCP must be included in the district and uyezd Commissions and to ask the Central Committee to issue this order with a secret directive for the localities.
6. About posters.	Approve the posters: a) drawing two groups of the clergy, 6) a portrait of Tikhon, a poster card, and c) a poster diagram. NOTE: Comrade KRASIKOV enters into the minutes that he is against the approval of the first two.
7. About scales for weighing values.	1. Instruct the technical subcommittee within 2 days to find out how many weights are needed and oblige the Supreme Council of the National Economy to take measures to supply them. 2. Instruct the technical subcommittee to request from the Moscow Finance Department an inventory of the simple church utensils it has. 3. Allow the technical subcommittee to transport large, silver items, for which there is no container, in bags.
8. About the company oral and printed. Comrade STUKOV.	1. Introduce comrade KRASIKOV to the campaign commission. 2. Instruct the agitation commission to work out the issue of exhibitions. 3. To ask the [3] * CC [4] * in the party order to issue a secret circular in the localities about a cautious attitude towards the poor, village churches, especially in disadvantaged areas, suggesting, if possible, not to make

	confiscations in such churches. Draw up a circular for Comrade STUKOV. 4. Get in touch with the Central Committee with a request not to release the comrades mobilized for the agitation company.
9. About the redemption of values and the participation of believers in Pomgol.	1. To recognize that the redemption of church utensils with bread and food is in no way allowed, in exceptional cases exchange for an equivalent commodity is allowed - values, provided that it is not collected from the peasants and parishioners. The procedure for the exchange of a particular set of instructions that [5] * t charge to develop. Vinokourov and Krasikov. 2. Instruct Comrade VINOKUROV to pass through the Central Committee an instruction on the exchange of church valuables for other [10] and the circular mentioned in paragraph 3 of § 8. 3. To take note of the Politburo resolution on the participation of believers in Pomgol and pass it on to Comrade VINOKUROV [11] .
10. Current affairs: a) about printing instructions. b) about the premises for the clergy.	Instruct Cde. MEDVED to print the instruction at the expense of Cde. SAPRONOV's credits. Instruct Cde. MEDVED to find and equip appropriate premises for the arriving clergy.

CHAIRMAN (SAPRONOV)

SECRETARY (EZERSKAYA)

- L. 8-10. A typewritten copy made on March 15, 1922 and certified by A. G. Beloborodov's secretary V. Litsis. On l. 8 at the top is a handwritten note: " Comrade Molotov ." *in the bottom left margin there is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with a number.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Written to the left of the hand, instead of what was originally printed,* outline a plan of seizure in Moscow, regardless of the political mood of the area.

[2] * *Fixed, in the paper* clerical.

[3] * *Corrected a handwritten line from the originally typed* offer.

[4] * *Printed unclear, possibly MK.*

[5] * *Fixed in* which *document* .

[7] Along with the protocols published in this case and in the annex

No. 1 (No. P-31), No. 2 (No. 23-7), No. 4 (No. 23-27), No. 8 (No. P-78), No. 9 (No. P-85)

The Commission for the Seizure of Church Valuables of the Moscow Province, we managed to find the following protocols (out of 13 existing):

protocol No. 3 of March 17, 1922 - Central Archive of the FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d.410a, l. 9-11;

Protocol No. 10 of April 20, 1922 - GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 119;

Protocol No. 11 of April 22, 1922 - ibid., fol. 120; protocol No. 13 of July 17, 1922 - ibid., fol. 121. There is also the minutes of the meeting of representatives of the district commissions for the confiscation of church valuables in the Moscow province of 02.04 1922 (ibid., Fol. 116) and the minutes of the joint meeting of the Moscow CICC, the Moscow provincial and city defense committees of 03.31 1922 - No. P— 73.

For separate numbers of the protocols of local provincial commissions for the seizure of church valuables sent to the central authorities, see: GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 60.

[8] Gokhran - State depository of valuables. Created by the resolution of the Council of People's Commissars 03.02 1920 (SU. 1920, No. I.

Art. 69). According to this decree, all Soviet institutions and officials had to hand over the valuables they kept to Gokhran. Ciphers of archival documents that repeatedly appeared in 1920-1921. cases concerning the leakage of valuables from the Gokhran, the issuance of diamonds to party leaders using simple notes without a seal, the theft in 1921 of more than 1,500 carats of diamonds by three employees of the Gokhran - see: Vasilyeva O. Yu., Knyshevsky PN Red conquistadors. M., 1994.S. 119-123.

[9] The final text of this instruction, printed in the printing house on three pages, taking into account the amendments made at the meeting of the Moscow CICC on March 14, 1922, was preserved in the State Archive of the Russian Federation, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 4-5. The instruction was signed for the chairman of the Central Committee of Pomgol A. N. Vinokurov and consists of 17 points. At the beginning of the document there is an official heading: "Rules and procedure for the work of regional and district subcommittees on the confiscation of church valuables, in the order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee decree of 16 / 11-22."

It should be noted that in the provinces, detailed instructions were developed by the local provincial CICC. Some of these instructions, together with the minutes of the meetings of the provincial CICC in the form of reports on the work done, were sent to the Moscow authorities. See: GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 60, l. 854-ob., 55-54-ob., 63-ob. and etc.

[10] See the circular telegram of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee: No. P-56.

[11] See # 23-5.

Note by the secretary of the MK of the RCP (b) I. A. Zelensky to V. M. Molotov on the conduct of an anti-religious campaign to confiscate valuables in Moscow. No later than March 15, 1922

No. 23-8

[No later than March 15, 1922]

T. Molotov

At 19, the company began to confiscate valuables in Moscow, the commission for confiscating church valuables decided to carry out this work urgently in Moscow. To hold the Anti-Religious] Company, it is necessary to mobilize among the other and listed comrades. I ask you to confirm their involvement in the company.

I. Zelensky

- L. 12. Handwritten original, autograph. On the document, handwritten notes: 1) " on the [secretariat] t ". 2) “on p [oolit] / b [yuro] . 15 / III (V. Molotov) ". The last resolution is written on top of another, where it was originally: “ on the [secretariat] vol . 15.III. (V. Mikhailov) ". A handwritten note about the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 113, item 12 of March 16, 1922 (No. 23-10). Dating for these resolutions and notes.

The list of those mobilized for the anti-religious campaign (attached to the note by I. A. Zelensky). No later than March 15, 1922

No. 23-9

[No later than March 15, 1922]

LIST of comrades SPEAKERS PER WEEK ON SEIZURE OF CHURCH VALUES [12] .

1. Galkin	12. Soloviev 13. Tomsk
2. Krylenko	14. Kozolov 15. Stepanov
3. Kalinin	16. Sapronov 17. Smidovich
4. Trotsky	18. Kiselev
5. Krasikov	19. Dogadov
6. Casterin	20. Andreev
7. Kutuzov (textiles)	21. Reisner
8. Lunacharsky	22. Malinin
9. Shestakov	23. Semashko
10. Poserne	24. Yakovenko
11. Preobrazhensky	25.Sosnovsky

I. Zelensky

- L. 13. Typewritten original, signature - autograph

-Handwritten resolution: "I agree. T. Trotsky must be deleted. The appointment of Tomsky must be agreed with him. Mikhailov. 15 / III ". *Dating according to this resolution and No. 23-8.*

Notes and Comments:

[12] The document was drawn up by RS Samoilova-Zemlyachka (see No. P-27, p. 18).

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on organizing the confiscation of church valuables. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 113, paragraph 12 of March 16, 1922

No. 23-10

STRICTLY SECRET

12. - On the removal of valuables from the church.

a) After interviewing comrades who were involved in the removal of valuables from churches, the Politburo came to the conclusion that the task of organizing the removal of church valuables has not yet been prepared and requires a postponement, at least in some places. Politburo instructs so. Sapronov seek the opinion of t. Trotsky about the organization committee, its composition and future work [13] . After negotiations with Comrade Trotsky, create a central commission chaired by Comrade Kalinin through the POMGOL Central Committee.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 11. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.265, l. 11-rev. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of unlined paper. In the left column "Listened" *after the name of the item there are speakers:* "(Sapronov, Krasikov, Lebedev, Vinokurov)". *Below is an entry about the mailing:* "Sapronov, Vinokurov, Krasikov, Lebedev, Tsyurup." *L. 1:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Kamenev, Zinoviev, Molotov, Stalin. Central Committee members: comrades. Radek, Rakovsky ".

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 15. Typescript koish? extracts of that time, made in the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and certified by the assistant secretary of the Politburo M. Sherlina - for V. I. Lenin. Above is the stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with

the *handwritten date* "25.IV.22" *and the incoming number. After the title of item 12, the speakers are indicated.*

Notes and Comments:

[13] Pursuant to the resolution adopted on March 16 by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) (Minutes No. 113, clause 12a) T.V. Sapronov made the following request on March 16-17:

"Top secret.

Comrade Trotsky.

Petrograd Benjamin threatens to urge the faithful to resist the withdrawal of the commission's attempts to start recording the values of the Kazan Trinity Cathedrals met with organized resistance. It will be possible to withdraw only by armed force. There are excesses elsewhere.

There is no one to lead the Russian moshtab. The Politburo considers it necessary to create an all-Russian commission. They ask for your opinion on the composition of the [1] * Central Committee. Pomgola offers the composition of Vinokurov, Krasikov, Yakovlev from the Central Committee, Unshlikht, one of your commission. Option two a) the commission is officially chaired by Kalinin, or c) the commission is not official and is officially acting by the Pomgol Central Committee. I urgently ask for an answer. The Politburo will postpone the construction of the withdrawal.

T. Sapronov.

Moscow is preparing intensively, the priests are moving a little.

T. S [apronov] ".

(GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 60, l. 794-793). This document was sent to the secretariat of the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council for transmission by cipher telegram to L.D.Trotsky, who was outside Moscow. At the same time, apparently, V. Litsis removed a handwritten copy from this document, written by T.V. Sapronov (ibid., Fol. 527).

It is noteworthy that T. V. Sapronov crossed out in his request to the Central Committee the phrase “comrade. Vinokurov suggests. " Indeed, at the second meeting of the CICC of the Moscow province on March 14, following Sapronov's report on the competence of this commission, it was Vinokurov who was instructed to “clarify the issue of creating an All-Russian CICC in the Central Committee and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (No. 23-7). It is quite possible that the first version of the composition of the Central CICC, given in Sapronov's letter to Trotsky, was determined by Vinokurov on behalf of the Pomgol Central Committee.

Trotsky responded to Sapronov's letter already on March 17, presenting to the Politburo his detailed proposals on the functions and composition of the Central CICC, on the provincial commissions and on the entire campaign to withdraw (No. 23-14). The Politburo adopted, with some amendments and clarifications, these proposals of Trotsky - first by polling on March 18 and then at a meeting on March 20 (No. 23-18), at which Lenin's famous letter of March 19 (No. 23-16) was also discussed.

[1] * *Further crossed out by* com. Vinokurov suggests.

Cipher telegram from the Chairman of the Smolensk Provincial Executive Committee DA Bulatov to the GPU and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee about resistance to the confiscation of church valuables in the city of Smolensk. March 17, 1922

No. 23-11 *, 14

IN CODE.

MOSCOW GPU from SMOLENSK 17/3 17 35.

All-Russian Central Executive Committee comrade KALININ [.] An attempt to begin the actual confiscation of the valuables of the Smolensk Cathedral was unsuccessful [.] The crowd of believers [1] * is in the cathedral day and night and does not allow the commission to work. All negotiations by elective believers [2] * did not lead to anything. We talked on this issue with TROTSKIM and received guidelines from him, which we are carrying out. Tell me if you need to act decisively. To transfer the decoder to the destination.

17 / 3-22 g.

Presmol Executive Committee of BULATOV

- L. 21. Certified typewritten copy of that time from a copy. At the top is the typewritten incoming number of the GPU with the date "20 / III".

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 34. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark with the same attesting signature, made for V. I. Lenin. Below is the stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archives" *with the handwritten date* "23.III.22" *and the* entry *number.*

*- CA FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d.11, l. 39. Typewritten copy of that time, made at the GPU and certified by L. N. Volkov. At the top of the droppings by the hand of the head of the Secret Department of the GPU TP Samsonov: "*In [tremendous] urgent. S. Secret [tno]. t. Unshlikht. The decryption has been sent to comrade Kalinin's order. Vladimir Ilyich is interested in this question, obviously, he needs to be sent too. 20 / III.22. Samsonov. 21h 30m ". *At the bottom of the litter by the hand of the Deputy Chairman of the GPU I. S. Unshlikht: "3* [3] * copies to Molotov, Lenin, Trotsky. 21 / 3.22. Unshlikht ". *Stamp of the Secretariat of the*

Presidium of the Cheka with handwritten date "22 / III-1922" *and the incoming number.*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 21. Typewritten copy of that time, certified by V. S. Dauber and made for V. I. Lenin. Below is a typewritten note: "Printed] in 2 copies]". *Stamp* "Comrade Lenin's Archive" *with handwritten date* "31 / III-22" *and the incoming number.*

- Ibid, l. 31. Certified by V. S. Dauber, a typewritten copy of that time from a copy made for V. I. Lenin. Above the text of the telegram is the mailing address: "TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO FOR INFORMATION: Com. LENIN, TROTSKY, ZINOVIEV, KAMENEV, MOLOTOV, STALIN ". *Below is the stamp* "Comrade Lenin's Archive" *with the handwritten date* "23 / III.22" *and the incoming number. Above is the handwritten incoming number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date* "22 / III.22".

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter on the GPU letterhead sent on March 21, 1922 on behalf of I.S.Unshlikht to VM Molotov, signed by the assistant secretary of the GPU presidium with a round official seal of the GPU. On the letter of the record: 1) "Copies of the members of the pb. V. Molotov. 21 / III ", 2)" Fulfilled ". Incoming number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date: "22 / III 22". (L. 26).

With a copy of RTSKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 34 contains a cover letter of the same content with the same date and signature, sent to V.I.Lenin. The letter bears the stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with the handwritten date "26.III.22" and the entry number. (L. 33).

[1] * Fixed in the document and all four copies of the leading.

[2] * Fixed in the document and all four copies of the leading.

[3] * Corrected by hand by I.S.Unshlikht from originally written 2.

[14] On the riots and bloodshed during the seizure of church valuables in Smolensk on March 28, 1922, see No. P-69, P-70, P-77 and comm. 61, 68 to the appendix.

In the "Daily summary of the information department of the GPU on the work of the commission for the confiscation of church valuables for April 3 [1922] No. 12", the events in Smolensk on March 28 during the confiscation of church valuables are described in this way (based on the state information report PP GPU No. 6130 of March 30 and the TO GPU of March 29):

“The mood of the Smolensk population is agitated in connection with the confiscation of valuables. 28 / III during the arrival at the cathedral of the CICC from the bell tower there was a ringing to which people came running. Under pressure from the crowd, the commission and the cadets who arrived with it had to leave the cathedral. The crowd beat several cadets. A military force was called in to fire on the crowd. There are killed and wounded. There were cases of shooting at cadets from balconies and from windows of buildings. At the City Bazaar, pogrom anti-Semitic agitation was carried out, there were isolated cases of beating of Jews. The excitement partially spread to the railway: workers who stopped work for 1 ½ hour. Cadets and rifle units are quite reliable in terms of combat and stand for the need to confiscate church valuables. UKTsTs in Demidov, Yelnitsky, Mstislavsky, Yartsevsky and Dukhovshchinsky districts have not yet begun work. The mood of the believing peasants is agitated, the attitude towards the communists is extremely hostile. At a meeting of believers in the Mstislavsky district, it was decided: not to surrender valuables, but to donate in kind for the benefit of the starving "- Central Asia FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d.497, l. 26.

Cipher telegram from the secretary of the Kaluga provincial committee of the RCP (b) MP Artemov to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) about the unrest of the workers in connection with the confiscation of church valuables. March 17, 1922

No. 23-12

March 17, 1922

received for decryption
on 18 / III 1922 at 00 hours 45 minutes.

From KALUGA

Moscow Central Committee of the RCP.

At No. 1561 / sh. We inform you that there was a three-day strike on economic grounds. There were unrest among the workers in connection with the seizure of church value. An authorized representative of the Gubotdel of the GPU was expelled, as well as a representative of the Gubkom. The issue has been eliminated, the plant is working. We will inform you later.

17 / III-22 g.

SECRETARY OF THE RKP GUBKOMA: ARTEMOV.

- L. 30. Typewritten original on the form of the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). On the text of the document there are records of acquaintance, autographs:

"V-M [olotov]";

"Read. Stalin ";

"L. Kamenev] ";

"Trotsky".

Handwritten note: "A copy of Comrade Lenin (together with other materials)." *Below is a handwritten certificate of the cipher-bureau on duty of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A.S. Balagurovskaya dated March 18, 1922 with the text of telegram No. 1561 / sh, the answer to which*

*is this document: "*Kaluga. Sponge. Was Gubkiy aware of the political strike in the "Riga (?)" Plant under the leadership of the Social Revolutionaries. " *In the lower right corner there is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number.*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 26. Typewritten original on the form of the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Above the address there is a typewritten note: "KOPIYA TOV. LENIN ". *Above is the stamp* "VERY SECRET". *Stamp* "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with *handwritten date* "25.IV.22" *and the* entry *number.*

Cipher telegram of the secretary of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk provincial committee of the RCP (b) I. I. Korotkov to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) about the Shuya events. March 17, 1922

No. 23-13

March 17, 1922

Received for decryption
on 18/3/1922 at 11:00. 30 minutes.

From IVANOVO-VOSNESENSK

MOSCOW CCRKP

17 / 3-22 years old. Gubkom reports that in Shuya on March 15, in connection with the confiscation of church valuables under the influence of the monarchist priests and s. R. an excited crowd attacked the police and a platoon of Red Army soldiers. Some of the Red Army soldiers were disarmed by the demonstration. The crowd was dispersed from machine guns and rifles by units of the ChON and the Red Army regiment of the 146th regiment, as a result of which 5 were killed and 15 wounded were registered in the hospital. Of these, a Red Army soldier was killed by the Department of Red Cavaliers. At 11 and a half o'clock on March 15, 2 factories arose on the same ground. By evening, order was established in the city. On the morning of the 16th, as usual, the factory workers went to work. The mood of the inhabitants and part of the workers is depressed, but not agitated [e].

The Governmental Executive Committee has allocated a special Commission to investigate the events. Details by letter.

SECRETARY SPONGE KOROTKOV.

- L. 14. Typewritten original on the form of the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b).

- CA FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d.11, l. 22. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark on the form of the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of

the RCP (b). Above the stamps: 1) "VERY SECRET"; *2)* "ON PERFORMANCE, DELIVER TO THE SECRET ARCHIVE".

*- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 29. A typewritten copy of that time, made in the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and certified by the assistant secretary of the Politburo E. M. Sherlina - for V. I. Lenin. Above the text of the document is printed the mailing address: "*FOR THE INFORMATION OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO, com. LENIN . TROTSKY, KAMENEV, ZINOVIEV, STALIN, MOLOTOV ". *Below is the stamp* "Comrade Lenin's Archive" *with the handwritten date* "26.IV.22" *and the* entry *number. Handwritten outgoing number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date* "19 / III-22".

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 25. Typewritten original on the form of the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Above the address there is a typewritten note: " Copy of comrade. LENIN ". *There is also the stamp* "Comrade Lenin's Archive" *with the handwritten date* "25.IV.22" *and the* entry *number.*

Letter from L. D. Trotsky to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with proposals to organize the confiscation of church valuables, with amendments by the Politburo. March 17-20, 1922

No. 23-14 * [15]

March 17-20, 1922

ANNEX TO PROTOCOL No. 114, clause 6 of the MEETING OF THE POLITBURO of the Central Committee of the RCP dated 20.III - 22

1- In the center and in the provinces, create secret governing commissions for the confiscation of valuables similar to the Moscow commission of Sapronov-Unshlikht. All these commissions must certainly include either the secretary of the Gubkom, or the head of the agitation-propaganda department.

NOTE: In the most important provinces to establish the nearest time of withdrawal, in less important - later, after information about the withdrawal in Petrograd [] and other central provinces. distributed throughout Russia.

2. The Central Commission should consist of the chairman, comrade Kalinin, Yakovlev and Sapronov (after comrade Sapronov's departure, the commission should be included as his deputy, comrade Beloborodov, who should be in the loop no later than Wednesday 22.III [)], t. Unshlikht, Krasikova (deputy] [-] Galkin), Vinokurov, Bazilevich [1] *.

3. In provincial cities, the commissioner of the division, brigade or the head of the political department is involved in the commission.

4. Along with these secret preparatory commissions, there are official commissions or tables under the famine relief committees for formal acceptance of values, negotiations with groups of believers, etc. Strictly observe that the national composition of these official commissions does not give rise to chauvinist agitation.

5. In each province, appoint an unofficial week of agitation and preliminary organization for the confiscation of valuables (of course,

without announcing such a week). To do this, select the best agitators and, in particular, the military. The agitation should be given a character that is alien to any struggle with religion and the church, but is entirely aimed at helping the starving.

6. At the same time, to split the clergy, showing a decisive initiative in this respect and taking under the protection of state power those priests who openly advocate expropriation.

7. Of course, our agitation and the agitation of loyal priests should in no way merge, but in our agitation we refer to the fact that a significant part of the clergy has opened a struggle against the criminal stingy attitude to values on the part of inhuman and greedy "princes of the church."

8. For the entire duration of the campaign, especially during the week, it is necessary to ensure full awareness of everything that is happening in different groups of clergy, believers, etc.

9. In the event that bourgeois merchant elements, former officials, etc. were found to be the organizers of the performance, he was the boss. If necessary, especially if the Black Hundred agitation went too far to organize a manifestation with the participation of the garrison with weapons with placards: "Church values for saving the lives of the starving," etc.

10. If possible, do not touch prominent priests until the end of the campaign, but tacitly, but officially (on receipt, through the Gubpolitotdely) warn them that in case of any excesses they will answer first.

11. Along with campaigning work, organizational work should go: prepare the appropriate apparatus for the very accounting and seizure in such a way that this work was carried out as soon as possible. It is best to start with a withdrawal from a church headed by a loyal priest. If not, start with the most significant temple, carefully preparing all the details. (Communists should be on all neighboring streets, avoiding congestion, a reliable part, preferably CHON, should be in the vicinity, etc.).

12. Wherever possible, release in churches, at meetings, in the barracks of representatives of the hungry, demanding the prompt confiscation of valuables.

13. To allow the representatives of the loyal clergy in the provinces and in the center to take into account the confiscated church valuables during prayers, widely informing that the population will have full opportunity to ensure that not a single grain of church property will receive any other purpose than helping the starving.

14. In the case of a proposal from groups of believers to ransom for valuables, declare that the issue should be considered in each individual case in the Central Committee of Pomgol, in no case suspending the work on the seizure. Experience in the provinces shows that such negotiations are conducted without serious intentions to buy back and only introduce uncertainty and demoralization.

15. In Moscow, the work must go on in the established order, in order to begin the withdrawal no later than March 31st.

16. I believe that for Petrograd it would be possible to set approximately the same time limit by agreement with Comrade Zinoviev, in no case forcing too much a campaign and without resorting to the use of force, until the entire operation is politically and organizationally fully secured.

17. With regard to the provinces, the Gubkoms must, on the basis of this instruction, in accordance with the time appointed] in Moscow and under the control of the Central] Commission, set their own term, on the one hand, providing thorough preparation, and on the other hand, without delaying the case by any one extra day and so that the most important lips. let's go first.

17.III.22 g.

L. TROTSKY.

- L. 17-18. Certified typewritten copy of the 1930s

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.266, l. 14-17. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original of the original document; signature - facsimile. Above the text of the document, the mailing address is printed: "TO COMRADE KAMENEV . TO COMRADE MOLOTOV. TO COMRADE SAPRONOV ". *On l. 14 at the top is a handwritten note about the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 114, item 6 of March 20, 1922 (No. 23-18). Here is another handwritten note:* "Appendix] 114, p. 6". *Above right, a typewritten stamp:* "p. secret. " *Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number.*

The document has the following handwritten revision:

1) on l. 14 - a) crossed out at the beginning of the letter the heading "On the issue of confiscation of valuables" *and the preamble:*

"With regard to the confiscation of valuables, it was mainly done by the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, everything in order to disrupt the campaign. Commissioner of the Presidium, Comrade Lebedev, has never gathered a commission during my vacation. The seizure decree was issued and published completely irrespective of the course of preparation and turned out to be a blank shot, warning the priests of the need for serious preparation for a rebuff. The absence of any kind of work for the central troika (Lebedev, Krasikov, Sosnovsky) led to complete discord in the provinces. I think that the matter can be improved by placing it in the center of the party's attention. I propose the following specific activities. "

b) in item 1. before the "provinces" *is inscribed above the line* "most important", *then the word is crossed out. At the end of the paragraph, added:* "note", *but the text of the note itself is missing, so the original version of the paragraph remained unchanged.*

c) the text of clause 2 was revised several times. The original typewritten text:

"2. The central commission could consist of a member of the secretariat of the Central Committee. or the head of the agit-

prop. department Ts.K., from t. Sapronov, Unshlikht, Krasikov, Vinokurov and Bazilevich. The commission has a bureau working daily (representative of Ts.K., Sapronov, Unshlikht). The commission meets once a week with my participation. "

Handwritten editing of this paragraph was done first in the text above the line, then across the left margin l. 14, then the text of the paragraph was corrected in a separate clean sheet. 17, where it got a form that coincides with the published final (d. 23, l. 17).

Above the line, instead of the crossed out "could" *it says* "should", *instead of the crossed out* "member of the secretariat of the Central Committee. or the head of the agit-prop. department Ts.K. " *written* "from the chairman - comrade Kalinin, Yakovlev", *in brackets (bureau composition) instead of the crossed out* "representative of the Central Committee." *it says* "Yakovlev", *after the surname* "Sapronov" *is written* "deputy] White-bearded", *after the surname* "Unshlikht" *is written* "Galkin". *At the end of the text,* "with my participation" is *corrected to* "with the participation of comrade Trotsky."*Placed in the final version in brackets, the text about Sapronov's departure and about his deputy Beloborodov:* "(after departure ... 22.III)" they *first began to write after the words* "v. Sapronov " *above the second line of item 2, but since there was not enough space, they moved it to the left margin, where it was written twice - the first text ended with the surname* " v. Beloborodov ", *for the second time the words about the date of its readiness were added. All three of these texts are crossed out - since the final text about Sapronov and Beloborodov, which did not differ from the text No. 23-14 published above, was written on fol. 17. In the original text of paragraph 2 on l. 14 on the composition of the commission above the line after the name of* "Krasikova" *was added* "(deputy] Galkin)";*in the same place, after the surname of* "Bazilevich" , "t. Yakovlev, obliging him to work correctly. " *This text about Yakovlev was crossed out above the line and moved to the left margin:* "to appoint comrade Kalinin as chairman of the commission, and comrade Yakovlev as the representative of the Central Committee in the commission, obliging him to work correctly." *This text about Yakovlev* ("a representative ... to work") *was repeated during the final formulation of the text of*

paragraph 2 on p. 17, but then it was crossed out, and the name of Yakovlev on fol. 17 is inscribed above the line after Kalinin's surname. The original text on the Bureau of the Central Commission was not crossed out on l. 14, but on l. 17 did not hit.

2) on l. 16 - a) In the original text of clause 17, 2 insertions were made: after the words "in accordance with the deadline set in Moscow" *added above the line* "and under the control of the Central [al] Commission"; *at the end of the text, after the words* "not for a single extra day", it is *written* "and in such a way that the most important provinces go first".

On the left margin with the same hand and ink opposite to item 17 of the litter: "Enter from the minutes]", *opposite to item 2 of the litter:* "Write off to the minutes."

For the list of those present, see No. 23-17.

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 16-17. A typewritten copy of the original document at that time, made at the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and certified by Assistant Secretary of the Politburo Sh. N. Manucharyants. Above the text of the document, the mailing address is printed: "TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO FOR INFORMATION vt. Lenin . Stalin, Zinoviev ". *There is also the stamp* "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with the *handwritten date* "25.IV.22" *and the* entry *number. Handwritten outgoing number of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date* "19 / III-22".

- Ibid, l. 19. An uncertified typewritten copy of that time, made for V. I. Lenin. At the top is the stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archives" *with the handwritten date* "26.IV.22" *and the incoming number.*

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 3, d.283, l. 6-7. Another uncertified copy of the same typewritten bookmark.

- GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 69. Another uncertified copy of the same typewritten bookmark.

- CA FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d.410a, l. 13, 14. Typewritten copy of that time, made at the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and certified by Assistant Secretary of the Politburo KT Sverdlova. A footnote to paragraph 2) is included in the main text. The unprinted letters of the left edge of the text (from 5 to 10 letters) of paragraphs 13) and 14) are inscribed by KT Sverdlova.

- Published according to the copy of the RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d.283, l. 6-7 with spelling corrections: Izvestia of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1990. No. 4. S. 194-195.

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a note by T. V. Sapronov, sent to V. M. Molotov at 12 o'clock on March 20, 1922 with a request "today to put up for discussion by the Politburo Comrade Trotsky on the question of the seizure of church [church] valuables []. " On the note from the note about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 115, item 12 of March 22, 1922 (No. 23-22). Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number. (L. 33).

[1] * The Commission has a bureau working daily (Yakovlev [3] *, Sapronov) Deputy [resident] Beloborodov [3] *, Unshlikht, Galkin. Once a week the Commission meets with the participation of t. Trotsky [16] .

[2] * *Inserted above the line by hand.*

[3] * *So in the document follows* Yakovlev, Sapronov (deputy] Beloborodov).

[4] * *Follows the* perfect preparatory *as deciphered in Yekaterinburg.*

fifteenThe final version of this directive of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), which came to the localities in the form of a resolution of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of March 20, 1922, was sent on March 22 and March 23, 1922 in a slightly different version than the document adopted by the supreme party body (No. 23 -fourteen). The recently published texts of this directive, received

in 1922 in Yekaterinburg and Ivanovo-Voznesensk, allow us to note the following serious discrepancies. At the beginning of the document, sent, as usual, signed by Molotov, the local authorities were informed that this decree, in addition to the telegram (for Ivanovo-Voznesensk - telegrams) of March 19, 1922 (No. 23-15) "is communicated for immediate and unswerving execution ". Further, in the first paragraph, the words "like the Moscow commission of Sapronov-Unshlikht" were omitted (the local authorities should not have known about the existence of such a commission). The list of members of the provincial CICC at the end of this paragraph has been expanded to include the persons listed in paragraph three. Thus, as an independent paragraph 3 was canceled, merging into the text of the first paragraph. Point number two has completely disappeared: it was considered inappropriate to report its content to the localities. The fourth item received the second number. Instead of the affirmative "are" in the first sentence of the now second paragraph, the prescriptive "create" appeared. Items five, six, seven, and twelve have been merged into one at number three. Points eight, nine and ten are number four. Items eleven and thirteen are at number five. Moreover, after the text of paragraph eleven, it was added: "The confiscation of valuables shall be carried out primarily in city churches, starting with the richest. To the peasant churches, poor parishes should be treated with caution and thoroughly clarified the situation. " Clause 6 of the directive to the localities was rewritten: "In those provinces and districts where, according to general conditions and completely[4] * not prepared [4]* seizure of valuables can be carried out or is already being carried out without the risk of excesses, etc., to carry out the seizure to the end under the guidance and responsibility of the provincial committees. In the same provinces, where the preparatory work was insufficient, where the provincial committees, assessing the situation, will come to the conclusion that there are dangers of excesses, postpone the seizure until the party congress, where representatives of this province, together with the central commission for seizure, will set the required time. To continue preparatory, agitation and organizational work in all provinces with

all energy. " In part - this is a revised seventeenth paragraph of the text of the directive of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), the PB decree of March 16 (No. 23-10) was also taken into account. Under clause seven of the directive, the text of clause fourteen of the Politburo directive is included. Points fifteen and sixteen, concerning the seizure of church valuables in Moscow and Petrograd are absent in the directive to the localities. But a new text was added to paragraph eight: “The Central Committee once again emphasizes the absolute secrecy of all preparatory organizational work. To inform the Central Commission on a regular basis about the progress of work, terms, measures taken ”.

Unfortunately, neither in the thematic files of the archives of the Politburo, nor in the files of the archives of the draft minutes of the meetings of the Politburo were found materials reflecting the process of processing the directive adopted by the Politburo into a directive of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) in the field. Although, undoubtedly, a number of new clauses included in the directive after the revision prescribe to the local authorities a more restrained, and even “sparing” regime for the campaign of confiscation of church values. In particular, the text added to the new paragraph five on the removal of primarily from the city's wealthy churches. Apparently, this significant amendment was made under the influence of the decision of the Commission "for the registration and concentration of values" (Minutes No. 8, p. 4), the head of which was L. D. Trotsky (see P-51 and comm. 48 to the Appendix). However, L.D. Trotsky (under the influence of V.I.Lenin's letter of March 19, 1922, No. (No. 23-16)?) Changed his point of view to the exact opposite. Only VM Molotov tried to defend a less radical regime for the removal of valuables from poor peasant churches (see No. 23-16, 23-22, 23-23). LD Trotsky sharply resisted at the same time, receiving support from the Politburo (see No. 23-24). The question arises: were the members of the Politburo informed about the revision of the text of the directive of the Politburo approved by them when Molotov sent cipher telegrams of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the localities? (Moreover, the cipher telegram with the corrected text was sent to

Yekaterinburg on March 23, 1922, and adopted on March 24, 1922, that is, after the Politburo adopted a resolution recognizing Molotov's position on the seizure of church valuables as unacceptable (No. 23-24).) This assumption requires additional research.

All the texts of the points of the Politburo directive to the places cited in this commentary are given according to the published cipher telegram that arrived in Ivanovo-Voznesensk. They have minor discrepancies, practically not affecting the semantic content, with the published text of the cipher telegram that came to Yekaterinburg.

See: History of Russia. 1917-1940. Reader. Ekaterinburg, 1993.S. 226-228; Also. Chelyabinsk, 1994.S. 226-228; Badelin V.I.Gold of the Church. Historical sketches and modernity. Ivanovo, 1993.S. 133-135; The chosen vessel: Collection of documents on the history of the Russian Orthodox Church. 1888-1932. SPb., 1994.S. 308-310.

sixteenThe minutes of the meetings of the Bureau of the Central Commission for the confiscation of church valuables have been preserved, starting with minutes No. 1 of March 21, 1922 up to No. 16 of May 12, 1922 (GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 59, l. 32-47). Excerpt from Minutes No. 14 see No. 23-44. Excerpt from minutes No. 17 see No. P-130. The first two meetings were attended by: Sapronov, Yakovlev, Unshlikht, Vinokurov and Krasikov, at the third meeting on March 27, 1922, Medved joined them, and Sapronov was replaced by Beloborodov, who became the chairman of the Bureau - GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 32-34. From the fourth minutes of March 29, 1922, Bazilevich began to be noted in the column "Attended", although already at the second meeting of the Bureau on March 24, 1922, two of his reports were heard - ibid., P. 35. Introduced at the suggestion of Trotsky by a resolution of the Politburo of 02.04 1922.

Various persons were sometimes invited to the Bureau meetings in connection with the discussion of individual agenda items. Thus, at the meeting on March 29, 1922 (minutes No. 4), he made a "Report

on the seizure of church [church] valuables in Kaluga, comrade Osipov." On this report, an important resolution was adopted in a sharp dispute between this Commission and other bodies that carried out the seizure with Glavmusey (N.I. P-14). The Glavmuseum, announcing a number of churches and monasteries as a whole, with all their property under its protection, and understanding clause 6 as declaring the right of veto of the Glavmuseum to confiscate any items of historical or artistic value by Pomgol, sought to drastically reduce the scale of confiscation and destruction (melting) church values. From the very first meeting, the Bureau of the Central Commission waged a successful struggle against this position of the Glavmuseum. According to Osipov's report, a resolution was adopted stating that all items falling under clause 6 of the instruction should not be left in functioning churches, but immediately transferred from there to the provincial museums (GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 59, l. 35). According to the same report, it was decided to withdraw, contrary to the meaning of the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of 16 (23) .02 1922, from the functioning churches and "superfluous low-value items" in order to replace them in other churches objects made of precious metals. Directive of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dated 02.04 1922 about this, see No. 23-36. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 35). According to the same report, it was decided to withdraw, contrary to the meaning of the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of 16 (23) .02, 1922, from the functioning churches and "superfluous low-value items" in order to replace them in other churches objects made of precious metals. Directive of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dated 02.04 1922 about this, see No. 23-36. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 35). According to the same report, it was decided to withdraw, contrary to the meaning of the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of 16 (23) .02, 1922, from the functioning churches and "superfluous low-value items" in order to replace them in other churches objects made of precious metals. Directive of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dated 02.04 1922 about this, see No. 23-36.

The fierce struggle with the Glavmuseum was reflected in many minutes of the Bureau of the Central CICC, starting from the first. At the first meeting on March 21, 1922, a proposal and a special statement by N. I. Trotskaya on amendments to clause 6 of the instruction, expanding the control rights of the Glavmuseum, were discussed (see No. P-71). But the decision was made exactly the opposite - no additions to be accepted; on the contrary, it was especially emphasized that "the absence of representatives of the Glavmuseum and the Gubmuseum did not stop the seizure" (GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 59, l. 32-33). Later, this decree was included in the "Rules and Procedure for the Work of District and Uyezd Subcommissions on the Seizure of Church Valuables" (ibid., Fol. 4v., P. 6.); it has been quoted many times in conflict situations.

When this conflict between the department of N.I.Trotskaya and the chief assistants of L.D. March 29, 1922 decided to develop additional instructions on church items of museum value - GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 35ob .; N.I.Trotskaya insisted on this, having drawn up her 16-2640 draft of such an instruction. But the Bureau of the Central CICC entrusted this work to completely different people - Krasikov and Bazilevich; later, on April 10, 1922, it was instructed to finally approve the instruction to Beloborodov and Krasikov (GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 59, l. 39). It is therefore understandable that when, finally, this additional instruction was distributed on April 27, 1922 on behalf of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, signed by Kalinin (see. No. P-114), the interests of the Glavmuseum were taken into account in it even worse than in the resolution of the Bureau of the Central CICC of March 29, 1922 according to Osipov's report (protocol No. 4, p. 2) - now, before the examination, disputed things should not have been sent to the Glavmuseum , and in Gokhran. And the threatening words of L.D.Trotsky in a letter dated March 22, 1922 about counterrevolutionary ecclesiastical sentiments in the Glavmuseum in connection with the confiscation of valuables turned into a harsh trial over a group of N.I. Tikhon in the Central Asia FSB, house 1780). The Bureau of the Central CICC did a lot for such a finale: at several meetings of the Bureau, the question was raised about the

counter-revolutionary nature of the activities of the Glavmuseum experts who save church values from confiscation in the Gokhran - GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 39, 44, 46. The same file No. 59 also contains a number of documents related to the attempts of the Glavmuseum to restrict the seizure of church items of museum value, and with the energetic resistance of the Bureau of the Central CICC to these attempts - ibid, l. 91-97.

The Bureau of the Central CICC has also repeatedly dealt with the acute problem of responding to the numerous requests of believers to replace the sacred vessels and salaries of revered icons to be removed with an equal amount of bread or precious metals. Replacement with bread was immediately strictly prohibited, and replacement with precious metals, officially authorized by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (see No. P-35), was subject to all sorts of restrictions by the Bureau. The main ones were formulated already at the second meeting of the Bureau on March 24, 1922, when a special "secret instruction was adopted to guide the Commissions for the confiscation of church valuables" (created along with the open instruction, for the text see: GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 59, l. 9); it was decided to allow such a replacement only in exceptional cases and, moreover, for each individual subject - with the special permission of the Pomgol Central Committee (ibid., fol. 33; a telegram from the All-Russian Central Executive Committee signed by MI Kalinin about these conditions was sent on the eve of March 23, 1922 - see No. P-56). The Bureau of Central CICC has repeatedly returned to this problem of replacement and later. The already accepted restrictions on the replacement soon seemed insufficient, and on April 30, 1922 (Protocol No. 6, p. 3, erroneously designated in the document as p. 2), the Bureau decided that the replacement "should be made in the amount of the value of the item left and should be made immediately" - in the same place, l. 37. It was soon clarified that "in terms of value" means that when replacing, it was necessary to compensate not only the weight of the gold or silver item, but also its artistic and historical value. In reality, local CICCs often demanded when replacing gold or silver in double or triple size -

No. P-139. 03 1922 - see No. P-56). The Bureau of Central CICC has repeatedly returned to this problem of replacement and later. The already accepted restrictions on the replacement soon seemed insufficient, and on April 30, 1922 (Protocol No. 6, p. 3, erroneously designated in the document as p. 2), the Bureau decided that the replacement "should be made in the amount of the value of the item left and should be made immediately" - in the same place, l. 37. It was soon clarified that "in terms of value" meant that when replacing, it was necessary to compensate not only the weight of the gold or silver item, but also its artistic and historical value. In reality, local CICCs often demanded when replacing gold or silver in double or triple size - No. P-139. 03 1922 - see No. P-56). The Bureau of Central CICC has repeatedly returned to this problem of replacement and later. The already accepted restrictions on the replacement soon seemed insufficient, and on April 30, 1922 (Protocol No. 6, p. 3, erroneously designated in the document as p. 2), the Bureau decided that the replacement "should be made in the amount of the value of the item left and should be made immediately" - in the same place, l. 37. It was soon clarified that "in terms of value" meant that when replacing, it was necessary to compensate not only the weight of the gold or silver item, but also its artistic and historical value. In reality, local CICCs often demanded when replacing gold or silver in double or triple size - No. P-139. 04 1922 (Minutes No. 6, p. 3, erroneously designated in the document as p. 2), the Bureau decided that the replacement "should be made in the amount of the cost of the item left and should be entered immediately" - ibid, l. 37. It was soon clarified that "in terms of value" meant that when replacing, it was necessary to compensate not only the weight of the gold or silver item, but also its artistic and historical value. In reality, local CICCs often demanded when replacing gold or silver in double or triple size - No. P-139. 04 1922 (Minutes No. 6, p. 3, erroneously designated in the document as p. 2), the Bureau decided that the replacement "should be made in the amount of the value of the item left and should be entered immediately" - ibid., L. 37. It was soon clarified that "in terms of value" meant that when replacing, it was necessary

to compensate not only the weight of the gold or silver item, but also its artistic and historical value. In reality, local CICCs often demanded when replacing gold or silver in double or triple size - No. P-139. that when replacing, it was necessary to compensate not only the weight of the gold or silver object, but also its artistic and historical value. In reality, local CICCs often demanded when replacing gold or silver in double or triple size - No. P-139. that when replacing, it was necessary to compensate not only the weight of the gold or silver object, but also its artistic and historical value. In reality, local CICCs often demanded when replacing gold or silver in double or triple size - No. P-139.

At its fourth meeting on March 29, 1922, the Bureau encountered a problem that had not long before given rise to heated polemics in the Politburo. The Bureau considered the request of the Pskov CICC, which reported on the petitions of believers "to leave the vestments in poor villages." In his note on the letter of V. I. Lenin dated 19.03 1922 (No. 23-16) V. I. Molotov, proceeding from the official interpretation of the goals of the entire campaign for confiscation, suggested extending the action of the campaign only to those “provinces and cities .. where there are really great values. " On March 22, 1922, Molotov passed an amendment to the PB decree, requiring absolutely no seizures in churches that do not have "any significant values" - Nos. 23-22 and 23-23. But Trotsky was not at this meeting (and in general there were less than half of the PB). Already at the next PB meeting on March 23, 1922. Trotsky achieved the abolition of this amendment by Molotov (No. 23-24). The Bureau of the Central CICC, by the Pskov telegram, made an impeccable formal decision, which really meant a refusal: “Propose the Pskov Commission to follow the instructions of the Politburo” - GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 35-rev.

In connection with the difficult problems of a possible aggravation of interethnic relations during the seizure, which greatly worried the Politburo and, in particular, Lenin and Trotsky, the Bureau of the Central CICC, taking into account the Smolensk events, at the sixth meeting on 03.04 1922 decided: “2. Suggest the GPU to pay special

attention to the situation in the Western Provinces in connection with the confiscation of church [church] valuables. Confirm the resolution of the Commission on the procedure for seizure: first of all, seizure should be made in Jewish synagogues, in the second - in Orthodox churches and in the third - in Catholic churches "- ibid, l. 37. See also the minutes of the Bureau No. 7, paragraph 6 - comm. 82 to the appendix.

Although the Central CICC was not supposed to deal with the problems of formalizing the renovation movement and the split of the ROC - this was the sphere of exclusive interests of the GPU, as Dzerzhinsky demanded back in 1921 - such problems inevitably arose at the meetings of the Bureau of this commission, Trotsky's brainchild. On April 10, 1922, the Bureau of the Central CICC considered Pomgol's proposals on specific forms of implementation of Trotsky's initiative to involve the "Soviet" clergy in Pomgol's work, and above all Bishop Antonin Granovsky (PB decree on this dated April 13, see No. P-102). At the same time, to strengthen the work on the confiscation of valuables in Petrograd, the renovation priests Rusanov and Dedovsky were sent there - GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 39-rev. See also the decision of the Moscow CICC - No. P-31.

In contrast to the Glavmuseum, in the field of vision of the Central CICC, judging by the minutes of the meetings, there were practically no separate, even outstanding, churches. It is all the more remarkable that two exceptions to this rule relate to the famous monuments of church architecture destroyed during the Soviet era and restored in the 1990s: the Cathedral of Christ the Savior and the Iberian Chapel. On 05/04/1922, it was decided that a revision of how fully valuables were removed from the Cathedral of Christ the Savior was necessary. For this purpose, Krasikov was instructed to organize a special commission of representatives of the NCJ, the GPU, the Moscow CICC and the Pomgol Central Committee; all work was proposed to be completed within 7 days. On the same day and at several subsequent meetings, the Bureau of the Central CICC dealt with the issue of the loss of valuables from the Iberian

Chapel, hearing the reports of the GPU on the progress of the investigation (protocol No. 13, p. 6) - GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 44; see also l. 45, 47. Even before this incident, on April 12, 1922, a general resolution of the Bureau was adopted - "henceforth, all cases of thefts and robberies in churches in connection with the confiscation of church [church] churches [are] should be conducted by the GPU," and not by the threat. Let us recall that this included any attempts by the clergy and laity to conceal the values of the church from seizure (Minutes No. 9, p. 2) - ibid., L. 40.

Cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the provincial committees, regional committees and regional bureau of the RCP (b) on the temporary suspension of the seizure of church valuables. March 19, 1922

No. 23-15 [17]

March 19, 1922

VERY SECRET.

cipher
On a straight wire.

TO ALL GUBKOMS, OBKOMA AND OBBURO RCP.

19 / III-22 g. In view of the complications that have taken place on the basis of the confiscation of church valuables, the Central Committee proposes, until special messages from the Central Committee, to suspend the seizure of church valuables. At the present time, to concentrate all forces in this matter on preparatory and explanatory propaganda work. The Central Committee will give additional directives on the 20th of March.

P.P. Secretary of the MOLOTOV Central Committee.

- L. 19. Typewritten copy of that time, certified by the deputy head of the cipher bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) S.F. Chechulin. Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b). Secrecy formula stamped.

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 81. A typewritten copy of that time with the same certified signature, made for V. I. Lenin. Stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" *with handwritten date* "25.IV.22" *and the* entry *number. There is no secrecy formula.*

- Ibid, l. 82. Typewritten copy of that time with the same certified signature, made for V. I. Lenin. The address of the cipher telegram: "SMOLENSK TO THE SPONGE RKP". *At the end of the text, a sentence has been added:* "This telegram [a] does not override what you established together with TROTSKY point." *Stamp* "Comrade Lenin's Archive"

with *handwritten date* "25.IV.22" *and the* entry *number. The secrecy formula is typed:* "TOP-SECRET".

- Ibid, l. 83. Typewritten copy of that time with the same certification signature, made for V. I. Lenin. The address of the cipher telegram: "VITEBSK TO SPONGE RKP". *The same sentence is added at the end of the text. Stamp* "Comrade Lenin's Archive". *The typewritten secrecy formula is the same.*

- Published without semantic discrepancies: Badelin

B. I. Gold of the Church. Historical sketches and modernity. Ivanovo, 1993.S. 133; Russian history. 1917-1940. Reader. Yekaterinburg, 1993.S. 226; Also. Chelyabinsk, 1994.

C. 226; The chosen vessel: Collection of documents on the history of the Russian Orthodox Church. 1888-1932. SPb., 1994.S. 308.

Notes and Comments:

[17] As the information reports of the GPU show, this cipher telegram was accepted with ease on the ground for execution; she was invoked to justify the delay in the campaign.

V. I. Lenin's letter to members of the Politburo about the events in Shuya and the policy towards the church. March 19, 1922

No. 23-16 *

March 19, 1922

MOST SECRET.

Comrade Molotov.

For members of the Politburo. In no case should you make copies of the copies, but each member of the Politburo (Comrade Kalinin too) should make his own notes on the document itself. Lenin.

Regarding the incident in Shuya, which has already been brought up for discussion by the Politburo, it seems to me that it is necessary to make a firm decision at once in connection with the general plan of struggle in this direction. Since I doubt that I will be able to personally attend the meeting of the Politburo on March 20, I will therefore state my views in writing.

The incident in Shuya must be related to the message that Rosta recently sent to newspapers not for publication, namely, the message about the resistance of the Black Hundreds in St. Petersburg to the decree on the confiscation of church values. If we compare with this fact what the newspapers report about the attitude of the clergy to the decree on the confiscation of church valuables, and then what we know about the illegal appeal of Patriarch Tikhon, then it will become quite clear that the Black Hundred clergy, led by their leader, are quite deliberately pursuing the plan give us the decisive battle at this very moment.

It is obvious that at secret meetings of the most influential group of the Black Hundred clergy, this plan was thought out and adopted quite firmly. The events in Shuya are just one of the manifestations and applications of this general plan.

I think that here our enemy is making a huge strategic mistake, trying to drag us into a decisive struggle when it is especially hopeless for him and especially disadvantageous. On the contrary,

for us, it is at this moment that it is not only extremely favorable, but in general the only moment when we can, 99th of 100 chances of complete success, smash the enemy on the head and secure the necessary positions for us for many decades ... It is now and only now, when people are being eaten in hungry areas, and hundreds, if not thousands of corpses are lying on the roads, we can (and therefore must) carry out the confiscation of church valuables with the most frenzied and merciless energy and not stopping by suppressing any kind of resistance. It is now and only now that the vast majority of the peasant masses will be either for us,

At all costs, we need to carry out the confiscation of church valuables in the most decisive and fastest way, than we can secure a fund of several hundred million gold rubles (we must recall the gigantic wealth of some monasteries and laurels). Without this fund, no state work in general, no economic construction in particular, and no defense of one's position in Genoa, in particular, are completely unthinkable. We must take into our own hands this fund of several hundred million gold rubles (and perhaps several billion) at all costs. And this can only be done successfully now. All considerations indicate that later we will not be able to do this, because no other moment, except for desperate hunger, will give us such a mood of the broad peasant masses,

One smart writer on state issues rightly said that if it is necessary to commit a series of atrocities in order to achieve a certain political goal, then they must be carried out in the most energetic way and in the shortest possible time, because the masses of the people will not endure the prolonged use of atrocities. This consideration is in particular further reinforced by the fact that, given the international position of Russia, for us, in all likelihood, after Genoa, it will or may turn out that cruel measures against the reactionary clergy will be politically irrational, perhaps even too dangerous. Now the victory over the reactionary clergy is fully assured to us. In addition, the main part of our foreign opponents among the Russian emigrants abroad, i.e., the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Milyukovites, the struggle against us will be difficult if we, at this very moment,

Therefore, I come to the unconditional conclusion that it is precisely now that we must give the most decisive and merciless battle to the Black Hundred clergy and suppress their resistance with such cruelty that they will not forget this for several decades. I imagine the campaign of this plan itself as follows:

Officially, only Comrade Kalinin, - must never and in no case appear in the press or in any other way before the public comrade. Trotsky.

A telegram sent already on behalf of the Politburo on the temporary suspension of the seizures should not be canceled. It is beneficial to us, because it will sow in the enemy the idea that we are hesitant, that he has managed to intimidate us (the enemy, of course, will soon find out about this secret telegram, precisely because it is secret).

Send to Shuya one of the most energetic, intelligent and managerial members of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee or other representatives of the central government (better one than several), and give him verbal instructions through one of the members of the Politburo. This instruction should boil down to the fact that in Shuya he should arrest as many as possible, not less than several dozen representatives of the local clergy, the local philistine and the local bourgeoisie on suspicion of direct or indirect participation in the case of violent resistance to the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the confiscation of church valuables. Immediately after completing this work, he must come to Moscow and personally make a report at a full meeting of the Politburo or before two authorized members of the Politburo. On the basis of this report, the Politburo gives detailed instructions to the judicial authorities, also verbal, that the trial against the Shui rebels,

Patriarch Tikhon himself, I think, is advisable for us not to touch, although he undoubtedly stands at the head of all this rebellion of the slave owners. Regarding him, it is necessary to give a secret directive to the State Political Commission, so that all connections of this figure are observed and revealed as accurately and in detail as

possible, at this very moment. To oblige Dzerzhinsky and Unshlikht to personally report on this to the Politburo on a weekly basis.

At the Party Congress, arrange a secret meeting of all or almost all delegates on this issue, together with the main workers of the GPU, the NKYu and the Revolutionary Tribunal [18]. At this meeting to hold a secret decision of the Congress that the confiscation of valuables, especially the richest laurels, monasteries and churches, should be carried out with merciless determination, certainly not staying in front of anything and in the shortest possible time. The more representatives of the reactionary clergy and reactionary bourgeoisie we manage to shoot on this occasion, the better [.] It is now necessary to teach this public a lesson so that they would not dare to think of any resistance for several decades.

To monitor the quickest and most successful implementation of these measures, immediately at the Congress, that is, at its secret conference, a special commission with the obligatory participation of Comrade Trotsky and Comrade Kalinin, without any publication about this commission, so that all operations will be subordinated to it. was secured and carried out not on behalf of the commission, but in the general Soviet and general party order. Appoint especially responsible best workers to carry out this measure in the richest laurels, monasteries and churches.

Lenin.

19.III.22.

I ask comrade. Molotov, to try to send this letter to the members of the Politburo in the circular this evening (without making copies) and ask them to return them to the secretary immediately after reading them with a short note as to whether each member of the Politburo agrees with the basis, or whether the letter provokes some disagreement.

Lenin.

- L. 20-23- Typewritten copy of that time, certified by the deputy head of the cipher bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) S.F. Chechulin. After the second typewritten signature "Lenin" is *printed:*

"Mark by hand comrade. Molotov:

"I agree. However, I propose to extend the campaign not to all provinces and cities, but to those where there really are major values, thus focusing the forces and attention of the party accordingly.

19.III. Molotov "".

At the end of the document there is a typewritten note: "The original was transferred to the Lenin Institute."

- RCKHIDNI, f. 2, op. 1, d. 22947, l. 1-4. Typewritten original; signatures of V.I. Lenin in typescript. On l. 4 in the lower left corner there is a typewritten note *:* "19.III.22. I received M. Volodichev by phone. " *Over this litter by hand*

V. M. Molotov made the litter "Agree ... V. Molotov" *printed in a copy of the APRF . On l. 1 handwritten note on the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 114, item 5 of March 20, 1922 (No. 23-17).*

- Ibid, l. 5-8. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark.

- Published: according to the copy of the RCKHIDNI - Bulletin of the Russian Student Christian Movement. 1970. No. 98.

S. 54-57; News of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1990. No. 4. S. 190-193.

Notes and Comments:

With copies of the RCKHIDNI there is a cover letter on the letterhead of the Secretary of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR dated March 19, 1922 with the text: "A copy of Vladimir Ilyich (materials] on the Shuya events)." On the letter the stamp: " Top Secret ". Below is a pencil mark by the hand of V. I. Lenin:

"a archive ." Here is also the stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with the handwritten date "8.IV.22" and the entry number. (L. 9).

18 The holding of a secret meeting on the confiscation of church valuables at the XI Congress of the RCP (b) was scheduled by V.I. V. I. Lenin to V. M. Molotov. In it, the leader demanded the immediate sending "on behalf of the Central Committee of an encrypted telegram to all the provincial committees that the delegates to the party congress bring with them as much detailed information and materials as possible about the treasures in churches and monasteries and about the progress of work to seize them" (V. I. Complete collection of works.Vol. 54, p. 206). On the same day, signed by V.M.

For a secret meeting of the secretaries of the gubernial party committees and the chairmen of the gubernia executive committees who came to the XI Congress of the RCP (b) (the congress was held in Moscow on March 27 - April 2, 1922), L. D. Trotsky developed on March 30 a theoretical note with "practical conclusions" about the policy in relation to the church (see No. 23-29). The note on the same day was approved by the poll as a Politburo resolution, which was confirmed on April 2, 1922 by Protocol No. 117 (see No. 23-34). The meeting took place on March 30, 1922.

Above, in No. 23-16, V. I. Lenin, speaking of "one clever writer on state issues," retells the end of Chapter VIII of the famous treatise by Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) "The Sovereign".

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the All-Russian Central Executive Committee commission on the events in Shuya. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 114, paragraph 5 of March 20, 1922

No. 23-17

STRICTLY SECRET

By a survey of PB members dated 18 March 22, [19]

5. - About the events in Shuya .

To propose to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee today to send a commission consisting of Comrade Vol. Smidovich (chairman), Muralov NI and Kutuzov II for investigation.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- Sheet 15 Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.266, l. 10. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract of that time on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), signature - facsimile of V.M. Molotov. Round stamp: "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY BOLSHEVIKS", *in the center with the monogram* "Central Committee". *Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed:* "Com. ENUKIDZE, SMIDOVICH, KUTU30VU, MURALOV ". *Item number in ink. L. 1:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Kamenev, Stalin, Molotov, Trotsky. Deputy representative comrade t. Tsyurupa and Rykov ".

Notes and Comments:

[19] In the typewritten white paper protocol No. 114 of the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on January 18, 1926 and certified by E. M. Sherlina, paragraph 5 was added: "By telephone poll ..." - see: RCKHIDNI, f ... 17, op. 3, d.283, l. 1.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on organizing the confiscation of church valuables. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 114, paragraph 6 of March 20, 1922

No. 23-18 [15]

STRICTLY SECRET

The survey of members of the Politburo from 18.III.22 g .

6. - On the seizure of church valuables .

(Comrade Trotsky's proposal).

The draft directive proposed by Comrade Trotsky should be adopted with the following amendments:

To item 1 add a note:

In the most important provinces to establish the nearest time of withdrawal, in less important later, after information about the withdrawal in Petrograd and other central provinces. distributed throughout Russia.

To item 2: after Comrade Sapronov's departure, [1] * Chairman [1] * T. Beloborodov should be introduced to the commission as his deputy , who must be up to date no later than Wednesday 22. III. Appoint comrade Kalinin as chairman of the commission; representative of the Central Committee in the commission of comrade Yakovlev, obliging him to work correctly [;] deputy] Krasikov - Galkin. The composition of the bureau: Comrades Yakovlev, Sapronov (deputy -] Beloborodova), Unshlikht and Galkin.

In clause 17: the timeframes on the ground should be set under the control of the Central Commission and in such a way that the most important provinces go first. Send instructions to all provincial committees.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 16. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.266, l. 12-13. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on two sheets of lined paper. At the bottom left, there is an entry about the mailing: "Trotsky, Sapronov, Yakovlev, Unshlikht, Krasikov, Vinokurov, Beloborodov." *For the list of those present, see No. 23-17.*

- CA FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d.11, l. 31 — rev. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on March 20, 1922; signature - facsimile of V.M. Molotov. On l. 31 vol. round stamp: "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY OF BOLSHEVIKS", *in the center with the monogram* "Central Committee". *Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed:* "Com. Trotsky, Sapronov, Yakovlev, Unshlikht . Krasikov, Vinokurov, Beloborodov ". *On l. 31 below by the hand of I. S. Unshlikht litter:* "2 copies. 21 / 3.22 Unshlikht ". *Here is also the stamp of the Secretariat of the Presidium of the Cheka with the handwritten date* "22 / III -1922" *and the incoming number.*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 18 — rev. Another copy of the extract of the same typewritten bookmark on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made for V.I.Lenin. Signature, date and seal missing. There are no underlined names of addressees. On l. 18 stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" *with handwritten date* "26.III.22" *and the* entry *number.*

Notes and Comments:

[1*] *So in the document, in the draft directive of Trotsky (No. 23-14)* deputy.

fifteenThe final version of this directive of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), which came to the localities in the form of a resolution of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of March 20, 1922, was sent on March 22 and March 23, 1922 in a slightly different version than the document adopted by the supreme party body (No. 23 -fourteen). The recently published texts of this directive, received in 1922 in Yekaterinburg and Ivanovo-Voznesensk, allow us to note the following serious discrepancies. At the beginning of the document, sent, as usual, signed by Molotov, the local authorities

were informed that this decree, in addition to the telegram (for Ivanovo-Voznesensk - telegrams) of March 19, 1922 (No. 23-15) “is communicated for immediate and unswerving execution ". Further, in the first paragraph, the words "like the Moscow commission of Sapronov-Unshlikht" were omitted (the local authorities should not have known about the existence of such a commission). The list of members of the provincial CICC at the end of this paragraph has been expanded to include the persons listed in paragraph three. Thus, as an independent paragraph 3 was canceled, merging into the text of the first paragraph. Point number two has completely disappeared: it was considered inappropriate to report its content to the localities. The fourth item received the second number. Instead of the affirmative “are” in the first sentence of the now second paragraph, the prescriptive “create” appeared. Items five, six, seven, and twelve have been merged into one at number three. Points eight, nine and ten are number four. Items eleven and thirteen are at number five. Moreover, after the text of paragraph eleven, it was added: “The confiscation of valuables shall be carried out primarily in city churches, starting with the richest. To the peasant churches, poor parishes should be treated with caution and thoroughly clarified the situation. " Clause six of the directive to the localities was rewritten: “In those provinces and counties where, according to general conditions and according to completely * unprepared * work, the confiscation of valuables can be carried out or is already being carried out without the risk of excesses, etc. the responsibility of the provincial committees. In the same provinces, where the preparatory work was insufficient, where the provincial committees, assessing the situation, will come to the conclusion that there are dangers of excesses, postpone the seizure until the party congress, where representatives of this province, together with the central commission for seizure, will set the required time. To continue preparatory, agitation and organizational work in all provinces with all energy. " In part - this is a revised seventeenth paragraph of the text of the directive of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), the PB decree of March 16 (No. 23-10) was also taken into account. Under clause seven of the directive, the text

of clause fourteen of the Politburo directive is included. Clauses fifteen and sixteen concerning the seizure of church valuables in Moscow and Petrograd are absent in the directive to the localities. But a new text was added to paragraph eight: “The Central Committee once again emphasizes the absolute secrecy of all preparatory organizational work. To inform the Central Commission on a regular basis about the progress of work, terms, measures taken ”. But a new text was added to paragraph eight: “The Central Committee once again emphasizes the absolute secrecy of all preparatory organizational work. To inform the Central Commission on a regular basis about the progress of work, terms, measures taken ”. But a new text was added to paragraph eight: “The Central Committee once again emphasizes the absolute secrecy of all preparatory organizational work. To inform the Central Commission on a regular basis about the progress of work, terms, measures taken ”.

Unfortunately, neither in the thematic files of the archives of the Politburo, nor in the files of the archives of the draft minutes of the meetings of the Politburo were found materials reflecting the process of processing the directive adopted by the Politburo into a directive of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) in the field. Although, undoubtedly, a number of new clauses included in the directive after the revision prescribe to the local authorities a more restrained, and even “sparing” regime for the campaign of confiscation of church values. In particular, the text added to the new paragraph five on the removal of primarily from the city's wealthy churches. Apparently, this significant amendment was made under the influence of the decision of the Commission "for the registration and concentration of values" (Minutes No. 8, p. 4), the head of which was L. D. Trotsky (see P-51 and comm. 48 to the Appendix). However, L.D. Trotsky (under the influence of V.I.Lenin's letter of March 19, 1922, No. (No. 23-16)?) Changed his point of view to the exact opposite. Only VM Molotov tried to defend a less radical regime for the removal of valuables from poor peasant churches (see No. 23-16, 23-22, 23-23). LD Trotsky sharply resisted at the same time, receiving support from the Politburo (see

No. 23-24). The question arises: were the members of the Politburo informed about the revision of the text of the directive of the Politburo approved by them when Molotov sent cipher telegrams of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the localities? (Moreover, the cipher telegram with the corrected text was sent to Yekaterinburg on March 23, 1922, and adopted on March 24, 1922, that is, after the Politburo adopted a resolution recognizing Molotov's position on the seizure of church valuables as unacceptable (No. 23-24).) This assumption requires additional research.

All the texts of the points of the Politburo directive to the places cited in this commentary are given according to the published cipher telegram that arrived in Ivanovo-Voznesensk. They have minor discrepancies, practically not affecting the semantic content, with the published text of the cipher telegram that came to Yekaterinburg.

See: History of Russia. 1917-1940. Reader. Ekaterinburg, 1993.S. 226-228; Also. Chelyabinsk, 1994.S. 226-228; Badelin V.I.Gold of the Church. Historical sketches and modernity. Ivanovo, 1993.S. 133-135; The chosen vessel: Collection of documents on the history of the Russian Orthodox Church. 1888-1932. SPb., 1994.S. 308-310.

Report of the commander of the troops of the Moscow military district N.I.Muralov to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) about the departure to the city of Shuya. March 20, 1922

No. 23-19

March 20, 1922

In [ezma] Urgently .

To the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan (B).

I report that this March 20th with train number 4 at 18 o'clock. 30 minutes. according to your order I leave for the mountains. Shuyu.

Member V.Ts.I.K.

Commander M.V.O .: N. Muralov.

- L. 24. Typewritten original on the letterhead of the commander of the Moscow Military District, signature - autograph. Handwritten label: "To materials] about Shuya." *Handwritten resolution:* "PB. Archive?]. 25 / III. NS [Lepeshinskaya? Alliluyeva?] ", The *date is blurred, possibly* " 20 / III ". *A handwritten note about the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 114, item 5 of March 20, 1922 (No. 23-17). Freehand formula for urgency.*

Cipher telegram of the secretary of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk provincial committee of the RCP (b) I. I. Korotkov to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the situation in the city of Shuya. March 20, 1922

No. 23-20

March 20, 1922

Received for decryption 21 / III 1922

From IVANOVO-VOSNESENSK

Moscow Central Committee of the RCP.

In addition to telegram No. 234, we inform you that in Shuya on March 14, 4 Red Army men were beaten and wounded, [,] of them were badly commanders, three citizens were beaten, 8 were wounded, according to the Health Department, no Red Army soldiers were killed. On March 16, a delegate meeting of workers spoke in favor of the withdrawal, deciding to clarify the meaning of the incident. On the 17th, at a meeting of workers, participants in the crowd from the Executive Committee and the Ukom spoke about the events, the meeting recognized the actions of the authorities as correct and protest against the actions of the priests. A number of other working conferences are related as well, requiring a quick withdrawal. Ivanov meetings in the garrison, factories, Teikov [,] Kineshma meetings of the Red Army men, workers make decisions on the seizure. Lezhneve was a performance that was liquidated quickly and safely [,] the values have not yet been taken.

20 / III - 22 g.

SECRETARY OF THE RKP GUBKOM: KOROTKOV

*- L. 25. Typewritten original on the form of the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). On the document in the left corner there is a handwritten resolution: "*For the information [of the members of the PB and Comrade Lenin. 21 / III. (V. M.) ". *Handwritten label:* " Fulfilled ". *A handwritten note on the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 114, item 5 of March*

20, 1922 (No. 23-17). Incoming number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "23 / III.22".

*RTSKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 32. Uncertified typewritten copy of the time. Above the text of the telegram is the mailing address: "*FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO FOR INFORMATION Comrade. LENIN, TROTSKY, ZINOVIEV, STALIN, KAMENEV, MOLOTOV ". *Stamp* "Comrade Lenin's Archive" *with handwritten date* "24 / III-22" *and the incoming number. Handwritten outgoing number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date* "23 / III.22". *The text is written by hand:* "about events."

*- GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 60, l. 408. Typewritten copy made on March 23, 1922 and certified by the clerk of the office of the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. Above is a record of acquaintance, an autograph: "*A. B [eloborodov] ". *Below is a typewritten note: "*(Copies were sent 23 / 3-22 to comrades Sapronov and Unshlikht)". *Above the text of the document is the same mailing address. Above the typewritten number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the same date. Stamp* "SECRETARIAT R.V.S.R." *with handwritten date* "March 23, 1922" *and the incoming number.*

Memorandum of the GPU to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) - "on the activities of the clergy in connection with the withdrawal of valuables from churches." March 20, 1922

No. 23-21 *

March 20, 1922

ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CLERGY IN CONNECTION WITH THE REMOVAL OF VALUES FROM CHURCHES.

Patriarch TIKHON and [1] * the surrounding pack of higher hierarchs, members of the synod in the person of: GROMOGLASOV, Protopriest KHATOVITSKY (not an official member of the synod) [,] Metropolitan [2] * NIKANDRA (in the world of Finomenov), Bishop SERAFIM, professor of theology and other theology LAPP. Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of 26 / 11-22 on the seizure of church values, they are carrying out a certain counter-revolutionary and open-ended work against the seizure of church values. Their work is expressed:

1) In the personal instruction of the clerics who are known to them coming from the localities against the seizure of church valuables. -

2) In sending to the localities, a directive with calls to prevent the collection of church valuables, and these [3] * directives are of a disguised nature (reference to church canons and sayings of the so-called holy fathers).

3) Arrangement of illegal meetings of the clergy in Moscow, at which members of the synod suggested to the clergy to wake up the believing masses against the removal of valuables from churches (data from agents [4] *). -

4) At the last meeting of the Synod, it was decided: (data from agents [5] *) the clergy should not openly speak out against the removal of valuables from churches, but to put forward for this purpose [6] * faithful believers who, allegedly on their own initiative, should oppose the seizure of church valuables. -

The GPU has information that some local bishops are in opposition to the reactionary group of the Synod and that, due to canonical rules and other reasons, they cannot sharply oppose their leaders, therefore they believe that with the arrest of the members of the Synod, they have the opportunity to organize a church council. where they can choose the patriarchal [7] * throne and synod-minded individuals more loyally to the Soviet authorities. -

The GPU and its local bodies have sufficient grounds for the arrest of TIKHON and the most reactionary members of the synod.

The GPU finds: 1) that the arrest of the synod and the patriarch is now timely, 2) that the admission of a spiritual council for the election of a new synod and patriarch is now also possible, and 3) that all priests and churchmen [,] are sharply opposed to the removal of valuables from churches [,] must be sent to the most hungry regions of the starving Volga region, where they should be advertised in front of the local hungry population as enemies of the people.

DEPUTY PREDGPU: Unshlikht NACHSOGPU: Samsonov.

20 March [8] * 1922.

- L. 35 — rev. (AND). Typewritten original, signatures - autographs.

- L. 29 — rev. (B). Typewritten original, first signature missing, second - autograph. In the upper right corner of l. 29 stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number.

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.48, l. 36-rev. (AT). Typewritten original of the same bookmark as fol. 35 — v., Made for V. I. Lenin; signatures - autographs, date handwritten. On l. 36 below there is a stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" *with a handwritten entry number.*

- CA FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d.11, l. Pa, pb. (D). Typewritten copy made on September 24, 1984 and certified by the detective Tomin. There are no signatures or numbers in the date.

Notes and Comments:

The case contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the GPU to document l. 35-rev., Sent on March 21, 1922 on behalf of I. S. Unshlikht "TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO. Comrade TROTSKY "signed by the secretary of the GPU Presidium R.D. Yezerskaya with a round official seal. The letter reads: " at the disposal! ". A handwritten note about belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 115, item 12 of March 22, 1922 (No. 23-22). (L. 34).

The file also contains a cover letter of the same content to document l. 29-rev. with the same date and signature, sent to VM Molotov. On the letter there is a handwritten note: "For information [information]. V. Molotov. 21 / III ". (L. 28).

The copy of the RCKHIDNI contains a cover letter of the same content with the same date and signature, sent to VI Lenin. The letter bears the stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with a handwritten entry number. (L. 35).

[1] * about *BG.*

[2] * Metropolitan *BG*

[3] * *No BG.*

[4] * agents *BG.*

[5] * agents *BG.*

[6] * im *BG.*

[7] * *Corrected by BG, in A* petriarchy.

[8] * *Restored in B, not in A.*

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on the activities of the clergy in connection with the confiscation of valuables from churches." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 115, paragraph 12 of March 22, 1922

No. 23-22

STRICTLY SECRET

12. - On the activities of the clergy in connection with the removal of valuables from churches.

(t. Unshlikht).

a) Accept Comrade Trotsky's proposal with Comrade Molotov's amendment.

b) To entrust the supervision of the implementation of this resolution, the final setting of the terms, etc., to the Central Commission for the Seizure of Valuables.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 31. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.267, l. 14. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of unlined paper. In the column "Decided" *item a) is formulated:* "To accept the following proposal of Comrade Trotsky with Comrade Molotov's amendment (to write off)." *At the bottom left is a record of the mailing:* "Trotsky, Kalinin, Sapronov, Unshlikht, Krasikov, Tsyurup." *L. 1:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Kamenev, Stalin, Kalinin. Deputy Representative of Comrade Tsyurupa, Rykov.

Letter from L. D. Trotsky to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with proposals for repressions against the clergy, adopted by the Politburo with an amendment by V. M. Molotov. March 22, 1922

No. 23-23

March 22, 1922

ANNEX TO THE PROTOCOL OF THE POLITBURO No. 115, clause 12 .

1. The arrest of the Synod and the Patriarch is recognized as necessary [,] but not now, but in about 10-15 days.

2. To publish the information about Shuya, the guilty Shuisky priests and laity - to the Tribunal within a week (to shoot the grooms).

3. During the same week, put on trial the priests for the theft of church values (there are many such facts).

4. From the moment of publication about Shuya, the press took a furious tone, giving a summary of the rebellious priestly attempts in Smolensk, St. Petersburg, etc.

5. After that, arrest the Synod.

6. Proceed with the removal of the entire country, completely without dealing with churches that do not have any significant value.

L. Trotsky [1] *

- L. 32. (A). A later certified typewritten copy. Dated from a copy of the APRF draft protocol.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.267, l. 15 — rev. (B). Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the letterhead of the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council and the People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs, autograph. In the upper left corner of the litter in red pencil: "Paul [it] 6yuro". *Before the text of the 6 points proposed by*

Trotsky there is no line "annex to the protocol ... item 12", *instead of it the introductory phrase:* "Concerning the proposals of comrade Unshlikht:" *Trotsky's text ends on l. 15ob. his signature and to the left of it the date* "22 / III 1922". *Below the litter by the hand of V.M.Molotov with the addition, which was then the end of item 6:*"I agree with Trotsky's proposals. I propose an addition to clause 6 - "completely not dealing with churches that do not have any significant values." This is at least now (for now!) Necessary. V. Molotov. "

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Restored by B, absent in A.*

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the exclusion of the amendment by VM Molotov from the resolution of the Politburo "on the activities of the clergy in connection with the removal of valuables from churches" dated March 22, 1922. From the minutes of the Politburo meeting No. 116, paragraph 2 of March 23, 1922 g.

No. 23-24

STRICTLY SECRET

2. - Comrade Trotsky's proposal to exclude from the resolution] of the Politburo of 22.III, p. (pr [report] 115 p. 12) on the activity of the clergy in connection with the confiscation of valuables from churches, Comrade Molotov's amendment. Offer to accept.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 36. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.268, l. 2. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of lined paper. In the column "Heard" the *words* "Comrade Molotov's amendment" *were first written before the words* "on the question", *then they were crossed out and added at the end of the text. At the bottom left is a record about the mailing:* "Trotsky, Sapronov, Kalinin"; *Sapronov's surname is crossed out in pencil. L. 1:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Kamenev, Stalin, Trotsky, Molotov, Kalinin. Deputy Representative of Comrade Tsyurupa, Rykov.

Letter from L. D. Trotsky to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with proposals on measures for the confiscation of church valuables adopted by the Politburo. March 23, 1922

No. 23-25 *

March 23, 1922

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO OF THE CC RKP FOR INFORMATION, Comrades LENIN, STALIN, KAMENEV, ZINOVIEV, MOLOTOV.

OFFERS .

1) Immediately allocate a million rubles for the confiscated church valuables to get bread for the hungry. Publicize this as a first appropriation.

2) Comrade. Kalinin summon one of the loyal bishops, for example Antonin, and involve him in the work of keeping records of the confiscated church values (as a specialist). Notify widely about this.

3) Comrade. Kalinin to be interviewed with the following content:

a) the seizure of valuables is by no means a struggle with religion and the church. The Pomgol Central Committee is quite ready to render assistance to believers in the acquisition of these or other items of religious use, in exchange for the confiscated values.

b) Quite apart from the question of religion, the clergy in the matter of confiscating values is clearly divided into two groups: One considers it necessary to provide help to the starving people from those church values that were created by the people themselves, and the other is clearly anti-national, greedy and predatory.

c) This second group, very numerous, having taken a hostile position in relation to the starving peasantry, thereby occupied a hostile position in relation to the Soviet regime. Refusing to help the starving people under all sorts of hypocritical pretexts and with Jesuit tricks, the ruling part of the clergy is at the same time engaged

in clearly criminal counter-revolutionary agitation against the Soviet regime.

d) The decree on the confiscation of valuables arose on the initiative of the peasants of the starving provinces, the broad non-party masses and the Red Army. And now the multimillion-dollar masses from all sides demand the full and firm implementation of the decree. The fight against the decree is being waged by a handful of princes of the church and former merchants, contractors, and retired officials who support them, who often run the affairs of groups of believers. The overwhelming majority of believers are entirely on the side of the decree on the confiscation of valuables.

e) In response to the vicious and criminal statements of counter-revolutionaries that the collected values will not go to the aid of the starving peasants and their farms, the Central Committee of Pomgol, both in the center and through its local bodies, involves them in accounting and control over the expenditure of the collected church values, both loyal priests and lay believers.

f) [1] * Without interfering as before in the affairs of the church, the Soviet government will not allow, of course, that the group of church princes, which previously always went along with the tsar, his ministers, landowners, nobles, capitalists, now wage a counter-revolutionary struggle against the power of the workers and peasants. The power of the king, the landowners and the bourgeoisie overthrown by the working people, not in order to allow the princes of the church to break and call for violation of Soviet laws issued for saving the lives of millions of starving peasants, peasant women and their children [20] .

4) Allocate 10 billion in Soviet money for the costs of the seizure.

5) The entire party press makes wide use of the fact reported [2] * in Izvestia under the heading "Reverend Smugglers" [21] . Write a number of articles. Repeat from day to day. Call for the preservation of church values plundered by a gang of priests, etc. and so on.

L. TROTSKY.

23.III.22 g.

- L. 37-38. Certified typewritten copy made simultaneously with l. 39 (No. 23-26).

- L. 41-42. Another certified copy of the same typewritten bookmark.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.268, l. 22-23- Draft minutes No. 116 of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original, signature - facsimile. On l. 22 top left of the poll results records:

1) "For - Stalin" *(in purple ink by the secretary's hand);*

2) "For - Molotov" *(autograph in red ink);*

3) "For L. Kamenev" *(autograph in red pencil). Above is a handwritten litter referring to the ordinance*

Politburo, minutes No. 116, item 17 of March 23, 1922 (No. 23-26). Below is a stamp about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 8, item 11 of May 26, 1922 (No. 23-49). On l. 23 stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number. Address at the beginning of the document: "IN THE POLITBURO". *Above is printed:* "P [ochto] -T [elegram] No." *and handwritten* "209".

Notes and Comments:

The file contains an undated cover letter on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), sent from the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on behalf of VM Molotov "to vote" "To all members of the Politburo, Comrade Vol. Kamenev, Stalin, Zinoviev "signed by Deputy Secretary of the Politburo MN Burakova. (L. 40).

[1] * *Fixed in document* g).

[2] * *Fixed in* message *document* .

[20] V GARF, f. 1235, op. 58, d. 38, l. 331-332 and 333-334 are two typewritten copies of the same bookmark under the heading "Values for the Hungry. (Conversation with the Chairman of the

All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Central Committee of Pomgol, Comrade MI Kalinin) ". The content of the document fully complies with the instructions of L. D. Trotsky about an interview with Kalinin, approved on March 23, 1922, by a resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) (No. 23-25, 23-26). Both texts are without date and signature. There is also a cover letter (vacation) sent on March 25, 1922 "by order of the Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, comrade KALININ", signed by the Secretary of the Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, addressed to the newspapers Poor, RABOCHY, RABOCHAYA MOSCOW and KOMMUNIST with a request to "print it (conversation. - *Comp.)* In your newspaper on 26 / III-s / g. " (GARF, f. 1235, op. 58, d. 38, l. 330).

On March 25, 1922, this text was published in Izvestia of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (No. 68) under the heading Fight against hunger. Values for the starving. "

[21] Leonid Trotsky had in mind the article "The Reverend" Smugglers "by Mikhail Gorev (MV Galkin), published along with four other notes under the general heading" Towards the Seizure of Church Valuables "under the heading" Fighting Hunger "in Izvestia All-Russian Central Executive Committee "dated March 23, 1922 (No. 66). This note reported that on March 8, 1922, at the Inza station, in a train from Samara, agents of the" local Ortochek "detained three passengers with large hand luggage. Church liturgical objects made of precious metals were found. The arrested passengers "in the premises of Inzenskaya Ortochek" according to the documents presented turned out to be priests of the Samara province - Rybakov and Smirnov, and the third - Gorbunov - "either a member of the parish council, or the head of one of the churches of Samara province." the opinion of "Samara Justice Bodies",who initiated an investigation into this case, the “reverend” company ”went to Minsk to“ transport things abroad. ”Based on the above, the author of the note concluded that the three passengers accidentally discovered were just one link in“ a large organization, consisting of priests and members of kulak parish councils, engaged in the systematic

purchase of church gold and silver in a hungry land and pumping it abroad. "engaged in the systematic purchase of church gold and silver in a hungry land and pumping it abroad. "engaged in the systematic purchase of church gold and silver in a hungry land and pumping it abroad. "

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on the removal of valuables from churches." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 116, paragraph 17 of March 23, 1922.

No. 23-26

STRICTLY SECRET

17. - On the removal of valuables from churches .

(suggestions] Comrade Trotsky).

Approve.

SECRETARY OF THE CC.

- L. 39. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.268, l. 21. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract of that time on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), signed by V. Molotov. Freehand paragraph number. For the list of those present, see No. 23-24.

"Minutes No. 4 of the meeting of the Commission for the confiscation of valuables in the Moscow province" dated March 23, 1922

No. 23-27

March 23, 1922

Comrades Sapronov, Medved, Stukov, Arkus, Bazilevich, Vinokurov, Krasikov and Breslav were present.

Order of the day:

1. Report of the Agitation Commission.

2. Report of the Technical Commission.

3. About the Deputy Chairman.

4. Approval of the district commissions.

Listened:

1. Report of the Agitation Commission.
Comrade Stukov.
The speaker informs that 8000 leaflets are being printed. Various literature has already been sent to the districts. The arrival of peasants from the province is not satisfactory, in the Republic of Tatarstan the issue of confiscating church valuables is good. A leaflet of the Moscow Committee "Who are they" was issued. Notes of the Red Army are being printed. Money is required for printing, also
paper. Glavpolitprosvet is passive about the execution of the work of agitation and propaganda entrusted

Resolved:

1. To state that the work on agitation and propaganda is not intensive enough. To ask the MK and regional committees to give all the forces at their disposal for agitation and propaganda to this work.

2. The supply of the arriving peasants and agitators with food and money shall be entrusted to Comrade Morgunov.

3. To consider it necessary tomorrow 24 / III to make a report at a closed meeting of the MC. Report to instruct

to it; various inexpediences in conducting this work are also noted.

comrade. Sapronov.

4. To draw the attention of the MK and the Central Committee to the fact that among the mobilized comrades to speak at factories and plants, as well as to write articles, there is a failure to fulfill the orders assigned to them, that is, performances and reports in the press, which threatens to disrupt the entire campaign. Suggest the Agitation Subcommission to investigate the reasons for this phenomenon and take appropriate measures through the party organs. Report the results to the Chairman of the Commission by 4 o'clock 24 / III.

5. Instruct the Agitation Commission to get in touch with the editors so that all incoming articles and resolutions from workers, peasants and Red Army men should immediately go to the press. Take all measures to ensure that there are as many articles as possible on the confiscation of church valuables, for example: theft of priests, appeals from bishops and

clergy *to* confiscate church valuables, etc.
6. Instruct Comrade. Krasikov to collect all the resolutions and appeals of the clergy on the seizure of church values.
7. Get in touch with the Moscow Printing Department about the early release of the book: "Number of the Journal of the Revolution and the Church."

8. In view of the return of Comrade. Compatriots from the trip to invite her to take on her direct duties in the Commission for the confiscation of valuables.

2. Report of the Technical Commission.
Comrade Bear.
The speaker points to the political state of the mountains. Moscow and the province.
Comrade Bazilevich speaks about technical preparation for removal in the mountains. Moscow and notes that the work has been prepared for withdrawal.

[2] To oblige the Technical Commission to provide accurate information about churches and the political mood of believers by Monday 27 / III.

3. About the Deputy Chairman. Comrade Sapronov.

[3] In view of the fact that Comrade. The bear is too busy and his work, as a military one, requires a constant presence in the

	Moscow City Yuriy [1] * to instruct Comrade Sapronov tomorrow 24 / III talk with Comrade. Trotsky on this issue.
	[4] To approve the Commission of the Zamoskvoretsky district.
4. Approval of the district commissions.	Instruct comrade Bazilevich by Monday 27 / III to collect lists of all regional commissions. It is also desirable to county ones.

Chairman SAPRONOV

Secretary LICIS [2] * [22]

- L. 44-46. (AND). Certified typewritten copy made from the copy on July 8, 1958. In the upper right corner of l. 44 stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 117, p. 5 of April 2, 1922 (No. 23-34) and the handwritten date under it: "March 30, 22".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.269, l. 10-11. (B). Draft minutes No. 117 of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten copy made on March 24, 1922 and certified by A. G. Beloborodov's secretary V. Litsis. On l. 10 in the upper left corner is a handwritten note on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting No. 114, item 6 of March 20, 1922 (No. 23-18). On the right is a stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 8, item 11 of May 26, 1922 (No. 23-49).

- CA FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d.410a, l. 15-16. (AT). Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark, with the same certified signature and date of manufacture. On l. 15 at the top is a handwritten note: "v. Bear ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Corrected by BV, in A* KGPO.

[2] * *Corrected by BV, in A* LATSIS.

[22] In the absence on the documents of the standard official wording "Secretary" V. Litsis, signing, indicated his position as follows: "Secretary of Beloborodov" (CA FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d. 411, l. 32); “Secretary of Ts. K. on seizure "(GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 60, l. 481); “Secretary of the CICC” (ibid., Fol. 480). See also comm. 7 to d. 23.

Letter from L. D. Trotsky to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with proposals for additional measures to confiscate church valuables. March 26, 1922

No. 23-28 [23]

March 26, 1922

Top secret.

IN THE POLITBURO OF THE TSECA T. MOLOTOV

A copy of the ALL-RUSSIAN COMMISSION FOR REMOVAL OF VALUES to T. VINOKUROV

A copy of the MOSCOW [COMMISSION FOR REMOVAL OF VALUES] T. MEDVEDU

Copy of Comrade KALININ

1. Offer tons. Muralov enter the Moscow and the Central Commission for the withdrawal of values, since it bought the some [1] * experience for his work in Shuya. His participation will ensure the necessary contact of the military apparatus with the seizure commission [24] .

2. There is great confusion in the assessment of the behavior and agitation of the priests. Our newspapers simply cite the sympathetic appeals of the priests for help to the starving, seeing in them a kind of loyal fulfillment of the decree of the Soviet [2] * government [2] *. In reality, however, the priests are issuing general empty calls for help to the starving in opposition to the decree [3] * on the confiscation of valuables. Local authorities should be instructed not to allow any ambiguity in this matter. The priests should not answer the question of whether it is necessary to help the starving, but should directly and accurately call for the execution of the decree of such and such a number [25] .

3. From telegrams published in newspapers, it is quite clear that in many places the confiscation of valuables is fictitious, that is, they seize an insignificant part of the valuables without encroaching on

the main ones, and thus achieve a "peaceful" seizure. It is necessary to send instructions to the local authorities that the local authorities are responsible for the incomplete, that is, the seizure inconsistent with the decree, as for criminal negligence. In all those places where one superficial withdrawal has been made, a second withdrawal, complete and decisive, must be demanded. Bureau of the Commission should be developed on this issue quite precise instructions, which must be distributed under the signature so. Kalinina [26] .

In particular, in Vladimir, the seizure was carried out, apparently, with criminal negligence and gave negligible results. We need to talk about this firm with Vladimir delegation and get her to the decree of the whole [27] .

March 26, 1922

L. Trotsky [4] *

- L. 50. (A). Certified typewritten copy made on July 8, 1958; no signature. In the upper right corner there is a stamp indicating that the document belongs to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 117, item 8 of April 2, 1922 (No. 23-35) and the handwritten date under it: "March 30, 22."

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.269, l. 20. (B). Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original, signature - facsimile. Top right typewritten vultures: 1) "p. secret "; *2)* "personally". Under the *text of the litter in black pencil, autograph:* " p. B. poll . 29 / III. (V. Molotov) ". *In the litter, after the* "poll" is *crossed out* "by phone". *Below are the records of the survey results, autographs:*

Trotsky *(in black ink);*

"I vote for Trotsky's proposals. G. Zinoviev " *(in red ink);*

"L. Kamenev " *(in blue pencil);*

"For Stalin" *(in blue pencil).*

Above is the stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 117, item 8 of April 2, 1922 (No. 23-35). Below is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number. In the address, the name of VM Molotov is underlined.

- CA FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d.410a, l. 27. (B). Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark, signature - facsimile. Above is the handwritten incoming number of the IHO Presidium with the date "27 / III-22". *FD Medved's surname is underlined in the address.*

- G ARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 60, l. 393. (D). Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark, signature - facsimile. Above, handwritten notes: 1) "26 / III. In the Bureau "; *2)* "Completed. 28 / III. <...> [5] * ". *Here is the handwritten incoming number of the Pomgol Central Committee.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * required *BVG.*

[2] * on the seizure of *BVG.*

[3] * *Added* Soviet power *BVG.*

[4] * *Restored according to B C D, absent in A.*

[5] * *The signature is illegible.*

[23] All these proposals of Trotsky were discussed the next day, March 27, 1922 at a meeting of the Bureau of the Central Commission for the confiscation of church valuables, and corresponding orders were adopted on them - on the introduction of Muralov into the commission, on the dispatch of directives on paragraphs 2 and 3 of the letter " through the apparatus of the Central Committee of the RCP in cipher ", and under item 3 -" signed by Molotov and Kalinin. " Clause 4 of the Bureau's resolution on this letter specifically prescribed: "Instruct comrade. Beloborodov to convene a meeting of the secretaries of the regional committees, regional committees, chairmen of the executive committees and regional committees, - to come to an agreement with the delegations and set the time and hour "(he was talking about delegations at the XI Congress of the

RCP (b), held in Moscow on 27.03 - 02.04 1922) - GARF, f ... 1235, op. 1, d.59, l. 34 (protocol No. 3). For a note by L. D. Trotsky with theoretical developments and practical guidelines for this meeting, see No. 23-29.

[24] For the PB decree on this, see No. 23-35.

[25] The cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the localities, implementing this proposal of Trotsky and sent signed by MI Kalinin and VM Molotov, see No. 23-31.

[26] On the implementation of this proposal by the Trotsky Bureau of the Central Commission for the confiscation of church valuables on March 27, 1922 and on the dispatch of the CC RCP (b) cipher telegram to the sites on March 30, 1922, signed by M. I. Kalinin and V. M. Molotov, see No. 23 -32 and comm. 31 to d. 23.

[27] Despite this directive, the Vladimirsky Gubotdel of the GPU reported on 24.04 to Lubyanka that the seizure in the province "is proceeding weakly, agreements with believers represented by priests are widely applied, as a result of which the work of the commission does not achieve maximum results [...] in addition, in some counties in churches, the commissions do not have to withdraw anything, and only because all the values are registered with the Glavmuseum, as it is established in the city of Alexandrov in the local women's monastery, where there are a lot of values, but absolutely nothing had to be withdrawn [...] Work in the province generally proceeds calmly "- GARF, f. 353, op. 6, d.7, l. 2.

L. D. Trotsky's note to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on policy towards the church. March 30, 1922

No. 23-29 [28]

March 30, 1922

TOP SECRET

IN THE POLITBURO.

1. The October Revolution has come to the church only now. Reasons: ideological weakness of the church and its servility. Transition from "autocratic" to "faithful provisional government". During the transition to Soviet power, the separation of church from state helped the spineless church hierarchy to adapt and keep silent. But there is no doubt that during the Soviet era, the church hierarchy, feeling "persecuted" (because it was unprivileged), was preparing and is preparing to take advantage of the favorable moment. Around her, certain counter-revolutionary cadres and political influence through religious influence.

2. The European Church has gone through a stage of reformation. What is Reformation? Adapting the church to the needs of bourgeois society. It was preceded by sects among artisans and peasants. A sect is the religious guerrilla of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie in general. The bourgeoisie raised the sects to the level of the Reformation, having bourgeois religion and the church, and thus gave it more vitality and stability (England).

3. Our opposition against church bureaucracy did not go further than sects. The bourgeoisie was too insignificant to create a reformation (like a democratic regime). The intelligentsia was a freak in the religious field - each in its own way. The Church remained formal, bureaucratic and, as it was said, inserted into its ritual instead of the "most autocratic" - "noble provisional government."

4. Thus, the church, all saturated with feudal, bureaucratic tendencies, which failed to carry out the bourgeois reformation, now

stands face to face with the proletarian revolution. What could be her future fate? Two trends are outlined: clearly, openly counterrevolutionary with the Black Hundred monarchist ideology and - "Soviet". The ideology of the "Soviet" clergy, apparently, like Smenovekhovskaya, that is, bourgeois-conciliatory.

5. If the slowly emerging bourgeois-conciliatory Smena Vekhi wing of the church developed and strengthened, it would become much more dangerous for the socialist revolution than the church in its present form. For, assuming a patronizing "Soviet" coloration, the "advanced" clergy thereby opens up for themselves the possibility of penetrating into those advanced strata of the working people who constitute or should form our support.

6. Therefore, Smena-Vekhov's clergy should be regarded as the most dangerous enemy of tomorrow. But precisely tomorrow. Today it is necessary to bring down the counter-revolutionary part of the churchmen, in whose hands the actual government of the church. In this struggle, we must rely on the Smenovekh clergy, not being politically engaged, and even more so on principle. (Shameful editorials in the party newspapers that "the Mother of God is more pleased with the prayers of fed children than dead stones", etc.).

7. The more decisive, harsh, stormy and violent the break of the Smena-Vekhi wing with the Black Hundred wing assumes, the more profitable our position will be. As said, under the "Soviet" banner, attempts are being made to bourgeois reformation of the Orthodox Church. It takes time for this belated reformation to take place. We won't give her this one time, forcing events, preventing the Smenovekh leaders from waking up.

8. The campaign about hunger is extremely beneficial for this, for it sharpens all the questions on the fate of church treasures. We must, firstly, force the Smenovekh priests to completely and openly link their fate with the issue of confiscating valuables; second, to force them to bring this campaign within the church to a complete organizational break with the Black Hundred hierarchy, to their own new council and new elections of the hierarchy.

9. During this campaign, we must give the Smena-Vekhi priests the opportunity to speak openly in a certain spirit. There is no more rabid scolding as opposition pop. Already now, some of them in our newspapers denounce bishops by name of sins of Sodom, etc. I think that they should be allowed and even instilled in the need for their own organ, say, a weekly to prepare for the convocation of a council at a certain time. Thus, we will receive invaluable propaganda material. It may even be possible to put several such publications in different parts of the country. Until the end of the withdrawal, we focus exclusively on this practical task, which we continue to pursue exclusively from the perspective of helping the hungry. Along the way, we deal with the counter-revolutionary priests responsible for Shuya, and so on, using KGB methods.

10. By the time the council is convened, we need to prepare a theoretical and propaganda campaign against the renewed church. It will not be possible to simply leap over the bourgeois reformation of the church. It is necessary, therefore, to turn her into a miscarriage. And for this it is necessary first of all to arm the party with a historical and theoretical understanding of the fate of the Orthodox Church and its relationship with the state, classes and the proletarian revolution.

11. It is necessary now to order one program-theoretical brochure, perhaps with the involvement of MN Pokrovsky in this case, if he has the slightest opportunity.

30 / III 22

PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS FOR THE MEETING OF SECRETARIES OF GUBPARTKOMS AND PRE-GUBBITSKOMS.

1. Conduct an agitation campaign on the largest scale. Eliminate both tearful piety and mockery.

2. Split the clergy.

3. Withdraw values as they should be. If connivance was allowed, correct it.

4. Deal with Black Hundred priests.

5. Encourage the Smenovekh priests to decide and speak openly. Register them. Support informally.

6. Theoretically and politically prepare for the second campaign. Allocate for this one party "specialist" in church affairs.

L. Trotsky

- L. 73-74. Typewritten original, signature - facsimile. Below the text are handwritten notes about the survey, autographs:

"For - Molotov";

"For Zinoviev";

"- Stalin";

"For L. Kamenev" [29] .

On l. 73 at the top is a stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 8, item 11 of May 26, 1922 (No. 23-49). In the lower right corner of the same sheet there is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks with an inventory number.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *The document below is erroneous* and.

[2] * *The signature is illegible.*

[28] Draft minutes No. 8 of the Politburo meeting of May 26, 1922 (APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 277, l. 18) contains a note with the text: "from Comrade Trotsky . Received on 30 / III 17 hours 35 hours By today's meeting of the secretaries of the provincial committees. 30 / III. <...> [2] * ". At the top of the litter with the hand of VM Molotov: "Interview the members of the PB. V. Molotov. 30 / III ".

[29] The results of this poll, conducted on March 30 at the meeting of the secretaries of the gubernia party committees and the chairmen of the gubernia executive committees, which took place on the same

day, were formalized by a Politburo resolution, minutes No. 117, item 5 of April 2, 1922 - see No. 23-34.

L.D.Trotsky's note to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to MI Kalinin and to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to V.M. March 30, 1922

No. 23-30

from. secret.

COMRADE KALININ.

COPY OF THE POLITBURO TO COMRADE MOLOTOV.

It was decided to release a million gold rubles for the starving people in the future implementation of the already collected church values and spread about this as widely as possible. Meanwhile, for some reason, this has not been done so far. I believe that this measure should be carried out in fact and very demonstratively. One or two trains should even have been sent to the Volga with bread bought with the appropriated million rubles.

L. TROTSKY

March 30, 1922

- L. 51. Typewritten original, typewritten signature. Round stamp: "Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic and People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs." *In the upper left corner there is a handwritten resolution:* " Check with Comrade Kalinin. V. Molotov. 30 / III ". *A handwritten note about the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 116, item 17 of March 23, 1922 (No. 23-26). Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number.*

- GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 60, l. 719. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark, signature - facsimile. Handwritten marks: above - "Ven. fast. PB and submit to the Pres [idium] in the CEC "; *at the bottom -* "Completed: a note was given to the newspaper, a resolution was made] of the Presidium] of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the allocation of] 1 million [ion] rubles. 4 / IV. A. B [Eloborodov] ".

The cipher telegram of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the provincial executive committees and the provincial committees of the RCP (b) on the support of the "loyal clergy." March 30, 1922

No. 23-31 [30]

March 30, 1922

Circularly.

Top secret. IN CODE.

FOR SPONGERS COPY FOR GUBISPOLKOMS

30 / III-22 y. [1] *

Newspapers often cite the calls of the clergy for help to the starving, seeing in them the loyal fulfillment of the decree on the confiscation of Church valuables. It is necessary to support the loyal clergy, which precisely and directly calls on believers to fulfill the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the confiscation of valuables.

CHAIRMAN VTSIK KALININ

SECRETARY OF THE RKP CC MOLOTOV

- L. 55. Typewritten copy of that time, certified by the deputy head of the cipher bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) S.F. Chechulin. Below is a handwritten note about the mailing: "from No. 1957 / sh to No. 2026 / sh inclusive]". *Handwritten date.*

- GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 20. Typewritten copy made on May 18, 1922 and certified by the secretary of A. G. Beloborodov V. Litsis. By the hand of the latter, the same litter about the mailing with the date "30 / III.22" *There is no formula* "SHIFROM" .

- Published as the text of a single cipher telegram with number 23-32 with the date of March 30, 1922: Badelin V.I. Gold of the Church ... p. 161.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *in the copy it is wrongly written* 30 / IV.

[30] V GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 29-rev. there is a document without a date sent by the deputy head of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) SF Chechulin to the Central Committee of the RCP, a copy of Comrade Kamenev ", indicating that these secret circulars" were sent [s] in one cipher message ". Here is a complete list of all seventy outgoing numbers (from No. 1957 / sh to No. 2026 / sh) with the address of each (from Tver to Petrograd).

The cipher telegram of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the gubernial executive committees and the provincial committees of the RCP (b) on the complete confiscation of church valuables. March 30, 1922

No. 23-32 [30] [31]

[March 30, 1922]

Circularly.

Top secret.

IN CODE.

TO ALL SPONS AND GUBISPOLKOMS

In many places, the Commission, in order to "peacefully" confiscate church values, will take away an insignificant part, leaving the main values. Similarly, in many places, seizure is suspended due to an offer from believers to buy out church valuables. It is proposed to seize valuables in accordance with the exact meaning of the VTsIK decree and instructions. Incomplete confiscation of church [ecclesiastical] valuables] will be viewed as negligence of local authorities. Where an incomplete withdrawal has been made, an additional one must be made immediately in accordance with the decree and instructions. Petitions to leave part of the valuables do not suspend the seizures and, with the conclusion of the commission, are sent to the Central Committee of the Pomgol All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

CHAIRMAN OF THE VTsIK KALININ SECRETARY OF THE CC RCP MOLOTOV

- L. 56. Typewritten copy of that time, certified by the deputy head of the cipher bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) S.F. Chechulin. Below is a handwritten note about the mailing: "from No. 1957 / sh to No. 2026 / sh inclusive]". *Dated by the date and number of the distribution of the document L6 23-31.*

- GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 18. Typewritten copy of that time, signed by A. G. Beloborodov. His hand at the bottom of the litter: "Signed on March 30th and handed over personally to the Central Committee duty officer at the congress, comrade Ikonnikov. A. B [Eloborodov] ". *There is no formula* "SHIFROM" .

- Published as the text of a single cipher telegram with number 23-31 with the date of March 30, 1922: Badelin V.I. Gold of the Church ... p. 161.

Notes and Comments:

[30] V GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 29-rev. there is a document without a date sent by the deputy head of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) SF Chechulin to the Central Committee of the RCP, a copy of Comrade Kamenev ", indicating that these secret circulars" were sent [s] in one cipher message ". Here is a complete list of all seventy outgoing numbers (from No. 1957 / sh to No. 2026 / sh) with the address of each (from Tver to Petrograd).

[31] In the GARF case, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 34 contains minutes No. 3 of the meeting of the Bureau of the Central Commission for the confiscation of church valuables dated March 27, 1922, with a decision implementing Trotsky's proposal on this matter (see No. 23-28). The text of the encryption code of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), according to this decision of the Bureau, was compiled by Vinokurov (GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 59, l. 18), this text literally coincides with text No. 23-32, but in the text Vinokurov there are no spelling errors.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on the release of funds for the All-Russian Central Executive Committee". From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 117, paragraph 3 of April 2, 1922

No. 23-33

STRICTLY SECRET

3. - On the release of funds for the All-Russian Central Executive Committee [32] .	3. - 1) Release a special oversized loan of 24,000,000,000 rubles. for a gift to the 1st Cavalry Army. 2) Release an oversized special loan of 15,000,000,000 rubles. for the United Military School named after the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. 3) Release a special oversized loan of 20,000,000,000 rubles. for the payment of wages to workers and employees of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for March. 4) Release a special oversized loan of 5,000,000,000 rubles. collection commissions [33] .

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 53. Typewritten extract of that time on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of the first half of the 1920s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.269, l. 5. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made in April 1922. Above the text of the extract is printed: "Extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee. RCP dated 29 / III-22, No. 117 ". *Above is the stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 117, paragraph 3 of April 2, 1922. There is no list of*

those present and no agenda - only the results of the polls are in the file, the date of this registration is conditional.

Notes and Comments:

[32] All amounts here are given in Soviet banknotes; their rate in April 1922 was 200,000 rubles. to 1 evil. ruble.

[33] 06.04 1922 The Bureau of the Central CICC stated the receipt of an amount of 10 billion rubles. for the confiscation of valuables, deciding to transfer them from the Gokhran to the Financial Department of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, where the Bureau ordered to concentrate all the sums allocated for the expenses of the confiscation campaign, for their subsequent spending "as needed" (Minutes No. 7, p. 2). On the same day, the Bureau approved the estimate of the Moscow CICC for campaigning in the amount of 6 billion rubles. The account in this document, as in No. 23-33, is kept in Soviet banknotes - GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 38.

Later, the Bureau several times authorized the release of funds to the provincial CICC: April 10, 1922 - 500 million rubles. Kaluga CICC, April 12, 1922 - 500 million rubles. Tula CICC; then it was decided to release the provincial CICC for transportation costs of 300 million rubles. to the province. The Tver CICC received them on April 20, 1922, and on 05/04/1922, the Kostroma province received an additional 300 million for the purpose of seizure - ibid, fol. 39o6., 40, 41, 44.

The uncertified protocol No. 9 of 02.04 1922 contains clause 3 of the decree on the disbursement of funds to the head of the Main Political Education Department Yakovlev (apparently for the Moscow CICC). The amount is indicated not in words, but only in numbers - and this figure is fantastic: 3,000,000,000,000 rubles, the last zero being reprinted later.

Apparently, the document contains an error of three orders of magnitude, and we are talking about half of the above-mentioned estimated amount of 6 billion rubles; the second half of this amount

(3 billion rubles) was released to Yakovlev on May 10, 1922 (minutes No. 9, p. 3 and No. 15, p. 3) - ibid., p. 40, 46. See also comm. 48 to the appendix. It is unclear, of the same total amount of 6 billion rubles. or, along with it, Glavpolitprosvet received on April 18, 1922, 1.5 billion rubles. through Pomgol according to the decree of 11.04 1922 of the Trotsky Commission for the Concentration of Values - ibid., fol. 51. Soon after this payment, on May 24, 1922, the Central Committee of Pomgol asked in a secret note addressed to JV Stalin to make a special decision on additional financing of the "anti-Tihon's agitation" - ibid., P. 61. See also No. P-80 and P-73.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the approval of "practical proposals for the confiscation of valuables." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 117, paragraph 5 of April 2, 1922.

No. 23-34

STRICTLY SECRET

By a survey of PB members from 30. III.22.

5. - Approval of practical proposals for the confiscation of valuables for the meeting of the secretaries of the Gubpartkoms and the Pre-Governmental Executive Committees.

(Comrade Trotsky) [34] .

Approve.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 43. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s. Dated from document number 23-33.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.269, l. 9. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract of that time on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), signed by V. Molotov. Freehand paragraph number. Instead of the line "By a survey of the PB members of March 30, 22" *printed: "*Extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee. RCP dated 30 / III-22, No. 117 ". *Above is a handwritten note:* " for signature ." *Below is a stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 8, item 11 of May 26, 1922 (No. 23-49). Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number. There is no list of those present and no agenda - only the results of the polls are in the file, the date of this registration is conditional.*

Notes and Comments:

[34] Trotsky's proposals - see No. 23-29.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) - "on the inclusion of comrade Muralov in the Commission for the confiscation of valuables." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 117, paragraph 8 of April 2, 1922

No. 23-35

STRICTLY SECRET

By a survey of PB members on March 30, 22

8. - On the inclusion of comrade Muralov in the Commission for the confiscation of valuables.

(proposal] Comrade Trotsky).

Approve.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 49. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.269, l. 19. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract of that time on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), signature - autograph of VM Molotov. Freehand paragraph number. Instead of the line "By a survey of the PB members of March 30, 22" *printed:* "Extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee. RCP dated 30 / III-22, No. 117 ". *Above is the stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 117, item 8 of April 2, 1922. There is no list of those present and no agenda - only the results of the polls are in the file, the date of this registration is conditional.*

Cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the provincial executive committees and the provincial committees of the RCP (b) on the fight against robbery of church valuables. April 2, 1922

No. 23-36

April 2, 1922

VERY SECRET

Encrypted

TO ALL GUBISPOLKOMS GUBKOMS.

Moscow on April 2, the first connection with the confiscation of church valuables, cases of robbery, theft from churches, have become more frequent. robbery embezzlement pt W [o] swarm the attitude of already taken place robbery embezzlement aristocratic priests and persons who signed agreements to bring them to court for embezzlement of the people's property pt [35] Third, when confiscating church valuables, sometimes it is necessary to leave full-fledged objects in churches due to the fact that there are no low-value points to replace their objects.The replacement should be made in the widest possible sizes using free low-value objects from other churches and monasteries of the province. Also, the former shops of church utensils.

CHAIRMAN VTSIK KALININ

SECRETARY OF THE RKP CC MOLOTOV.

- L. 52. Typewritten copy of that time, certified by the deputy head of the cipher bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) S.F. Chechulin. Below is a handwritten note about the mailing: "from No. 2029 / sh to No. 2097 / sh inclusive." *The formula* " Encrypted " in the *same handwriting . Secrecy formula stamped.*

- G ARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 21. Typewritten copy of that time, signed by A. G. Beloborodov. His hand at the bottom of the litter: "Signed on 5.IV and sent to Comrade Ikonnikov. A. B [eloborodov] " *and the last*

phrase in the text " Also ... utensils. " *Above the typewritten formula: 1)* " Secret "; *2)* " cipher ". *The last sentence of the text is missing the word* "free".

- Published without semantic discrepancies with the date April 4, 1922: Badelin V.I. Gold of the Church ... p. 161, 162.

Notes and Comments:

[35] This Directive was initiated by the GPU and the Bureau of the Central CICC. At the meeting of the Bureau on March 31, 1922, which took place with the active participation of Unshlikht (protocol No. 5), a resolution was adopted on clause 5 "On robberies from churches": , to give directives to the localities so that local executive committees oblige the priests and chairmen of church councils who signed an agreement that they are responsible primarily for robberies and embezzlement from theirs (sic! - *Comp.)*churches. In relation to the churches in which robberies have already been discovered, arrest the priests and the persons who signed the agreements. The Moscow Commission to carry out this measure immediately. Suggest to local executive committees to give orders on guarding churches "- GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 36. Orders for the urgent organization of such processes were sent to the localities through the GPU.

On April 6, 1922, the Bureau of the Central CICC heard the question "On the establishment of a process in connection with thefts from churches" (Minutes Ks 7, p. 9). Decided: "To instruct the GPU to speed up the setting up of the proceedings on thefts in churches in connection with the confiscation of church [church] valuables. To ask the GPU and the Moscow State Pedagogical University to strengthen the intelligence work in churches during the holidays. To instruct the GPU of all the Participants to confiscate those guilty of embezzlement of valuables to immediately prosecute the Military Collegium of the Revolutionary Tribunal, who, behind closed doors, immediately investigate the case and issue appropriate decisions. In cases of provocation, the case is subject to publication in the press "- ibid, l. 38-rev.

On April 20, 1922, the Bureau of the Central CICC decided (Minutes No. 10, item 2) "to propose to the People's Commissariat of Justice to issue a circular on the responsibility of church councils for church property"; in the event of the sale of this property, it was proposed, along with a criminal case, to initiate a civil suit and to recover from the property of the defendants, that is, all members of the church council. Recall that the fact of embezzlement was determined by comparing the available church items with pre-revolutionary statements - ibid., Fol. 41. See also comm. 21 to d. 23.

Cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the provincial committees of the RCP (b) and the governorate departments of the GPU about the persons leading church policy in the provinces. April 10, 1922

No. 23-37

April 10, 1922

VERY SECRET.

IN CODE CIRCULARLY.

ALL SPRING COMMISSIONS OF THE RKP COPY OF THE GUBOTDELS OF THE GPU

According to the resolution of the meeting of the secretaries of the provincial committees at the 11th congress of the party of the [36th] Central Committee of the RCP, all the provincial committees, within three days of receiving this one, must inform the Central Committee of a copy of the GPU who was appointed by the provincial committee to lead church policy in the province. 10 April 1922, point [1] *

SECRETARY OF THE RKP CC STALIN.

- L. 54. Typewritten copy of that time, certified by the deputy head of the cipher bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) S.F. Chechulin. Below is a handwritten note about the mailing: "from No. 2107 / sh to No. 2177 / sh inclusive]". *In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 114, item 1 of March 20, 1922. The secrecy formula is stamped.*

- Published without semantic discrepancies: The chosen vessel ... P. 317.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Inscribed in a line by the hand of S.F.Chechulin.*

[36] On the meeting of the secretaries of the provincial committees on March 30, 1922 see comm. 18 to d. 23.

A cipher telegram from Kostroma with a request for permission to open the relics of St. Barnabas of Vetluzhsky. April 27, 1922

No. 23-38 * [37]

Received for decryption

June 27, 1922 at 21 o'clock 5 minutes.

VERY SECRET.

ON PERFORMANCE SUBMIT TO THE SECRET ARCHIVE

FROM KOSTROMA

MOSCOW Central Committee of the RCP.

27 / IV-22 years old. The so-called relics of Barnabas are revealed to Barnabas with the removal of the silver tomb. The executive committee and the Ukom are asked permission to open them. We ask for instructions and the possibility of opening the relics.

RESPONSIBLE SECRETARY FEIGE

- L. 60. Typewritten original on the form of the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). The stamp confirming that the document belongs to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 5, item 7 of May 4, 1922 (No. 23-40). Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number. Incoming number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "29 / IV.22". *Formulas of secrecy and about the transfer to the archive in stamps.*

Notes and Comments:

The case contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to these two documents, sent on May 2, 1922 on behalf of I.V. Stalin for conclusion to L.D. Trotsky, signed by A.M. Nazaretyan. On the letter by hand of L. D. Trotsky there is a resolution: “To the Politburo. Trotsky. " A stamp and a handwritten note on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 5, item 7 of May 4, 1922 (No. 23-

40). Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number. (L. 59).

[37] Barnabas Vetluzhsky - saint of the Russian Orthodox Church, died in 1445. For the campaign to eliminate the relics of the saints, see comm. 10 to d. 25.

Conclusion of the Deputy People's Commissar of Justice P. A. Krasikov on a cipher telegram from Kostroma about the autopsy of the relics of St. Barnabas Vetluzhsky [Between April 28 - May 2, 1922]

No. 23-39 *

APPENDIX TO PR [OTOCOL] No. 5, clause 7 of the MEETING OF THE POLITBURO of the Central Committee of the RCP dated 4.V.22

The Silver Tomb is subject to confiscation on a common basis. Therefore, disclosure and removal should be done, requiring a local priest or other church person to assist with the operation. The Governmental Executive Committee must appoint a responsible person to the commission, who monitors the correctness of the operation. If there is no inner coffin, then after opening it should be placed in a special box and transported to the Gubmuseum or Moscow. The autopsy must necessarily be calculated for the subsequent removal of the so-called] relics. During the autopsy, only members of the commission [,] the clergy are present in the temple (representatives from local workers' organizations are desirable). If major complications are expected, immediately report to the GPU.

KRASIKOV.

- L. 58. Certified typewritten copy of the 1930s. Dated from No. 23-38 and the date of the cover letter (see note to No. 23-39).

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.274, l. 8 - rev. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original, autograph. Top left on l. With the 8th hand of PA Krasikov, the stamp: " In [is] Secret ." *Below in his own hand:* "To the secret department of Ts. K. R. K. P. Com. Burakova ". *At the end of the text on l. 8ob. in his own hand:* "Appendix: Cipher telegram No. 804" *(No. 23-38). On l. 8 handwritten note stating that the document is an appendix to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 5 p. 7 of May 4, 1922 (No. 23-40), and a stamp on the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 5, p. 7 dated May 4, 1922 (No. 23-*

40). Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b).

Notes and Comments:

The case contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to these two documents, sent on May 2, 1922 on behalf of I.V. Stalin for conclusion to L.D. Trotsky, signed by A.M. Nazaretyan. On the letter by hand of L. D. Trotsky there is a resolution: "To the Politburo. Trotsky. " A stamp and a handwritten note on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 5, item 7 of May 4, 1922 (No. 23-40). Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number. (L. 59).

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the relics of the Monk Varnava Vetluzhsky. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 5, paragraph 7 of May 4, 1922

No. 23-40

STRICTLY SECRET

7. - A message from Kostroma about the relics of Barnabas .

To approve the conclusion of Comrade Krasikov.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 57. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.274, l. 7. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of lined paper. In the column "Heard" it was *mistakenly first written* "Conclusion" *instead of* "Message", *then the first is crossed out, next to it is written the correct word. At the bottom left is an entry about the mailing:* "Krasikov". *L. 2:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov. Candidates: com. Molotov, Kalinin. Member of the Central Committee: Comrade Frunze. "

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on assistant to comrade Trotsky in the confiscation of valuables." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 5, item 8 of May 4, 1922

No. 23-41 *

STRICTLY SECRET

8. - About the assistant to Comrade Trotsky in the confiscation of valuables .

To instruct the Orgburo within three days to find two assistants to Comrade Trotsky to work on the confiscation of valuables.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 61. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s. Below are handwritten notes referring to the resolution of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), protocol No. 14, item 2 of May 5, 1922, and to the resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), protocol No. 15, item 4 of May 8, 1922. (see note. to No. 23-41).

*- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.274, l. 7. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of lined paper. At the bottom left is an entry about the mailing: "*Orgburo. Trotsky *". For the list of those present, see No. 23-40.*

Notes and Comments:

The file contains two documents on the execution of this decision:

1) Certified by Assistant Secretary of the Politburo Sh. N. Manucharyants, an extract of the resolution of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), minutes No. 14, item 2 of May 5, 1922, according to the report of I. V. Stalin: "To appoint Comrades. Bubnov and Pashkevich, having recalled the latter from the Petrograd organization of the RCP ". On the document there is a stamp and a handwritten note about belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 5, item 8 of May 4, 1922 (No.

23-41). Below is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number. (L. 63).

2) Certified by Assistant Secretary of the Politburo Sh. N. Manucharyants, an extract of the resolution of the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), minutes No. 15, clause 4 of May 8, 1922, according to V. V. Kuibyshev: / V s / go Comrade Bubnov, to send Comrade NN Popov to the disposal of Comrade Trotsky instead of him to work as an assistant to Comrade. Trotsky in the commission for the confiscation of valuables. " Above is the stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 5, item 8 of May 4, 1922 (No. 23-41). (L. 64).

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the course of the campaign to confiscate church valuables. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 5, paragraph 15 of May 4, 1922

No. 23-42

STRICTLY SECRET

15. - About the campaign to confiscate church valuables .

(Comrade Trotsky).

Having heard the news on the progress of the campaign to confiscate valuables, the Politburo notes the extreme slowness and sluggishness of its implementation and puts it on the surface of all its participants.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 62. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.274, l. 14. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of lined paper. At the bottom left is a mailing record: "Members of the Commission? t. Trotsky, Sapronov, Yakovlev, Unshlikht, Beloborodov, Kalinin. " *For the list of those present, see No. 23-40.*

A post-telegram from L. D. Trotsky to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with proposals for agitation for the seizure of church property, adopted by the Politburo. May 6, 1922

No. 23-43

Top secret

APPENDIX TO THE PROTOCOL OF THE POLITBURO No. 6 of 1 IV22, item 19 POST-TELEGRAM No. 44 / r.

Central Committee of the RCP.

The Commission for the Confiscation of Valuables considers it necessary to draw the attention of the Central Committee to the fact that agitation in connection with values, etc., in the Soviet and Party press has again become extremely weakened and deprived of the necessary leadership. It is necessary to instruct Rosta, in the person of its quite trusted and competent employee, to give a daily summary of the most important and successful articles and notes of the Moscow press on the issue of values and the church for the provincial press, while instructing the latter to devote a significant part of its columns to this extremely important moment question.

The commission asks the Central Committee to indicate which of Rosta's workers will be given this instruction in order to establish direct and correct relations with him.

L. TROTSKY

May 6, 1922

- L. 66. Certified typewritten copy made on April 25, 1958

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.275, l. 28. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original, signature - facsimile. In the second line of text "etc." *inserted by hand. The second stamp,* "urgently, " is *written under the* "Top Secret" *stamp . Instead of the typewritten line* "ANNEX TO THE PROTOCOL OF THE POLITBURO No. 6 of 11.V.22, p. 19" written in *pencil* "Appendix] p / b No. 6, p. 19". *Below*

is a stamp about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 6, item 19 of May 11, 1922 (No. 23-46).

Resolution of the Bureau of the Central Commission for the Seizure of Church Valuables "on the delay in the confiscation". From the minutes of the meeting of the Bureau of the Central Commission No. 14, item 1. May 8, 1922

No. 23-44 [38]

May 8, 1922

C. secret

Present: Comrades BELOBORODOV, UNSHLIKHT, YAKOVLEV, KRASIKOV.

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
About the delay in the seizure works in the RSFSR.	To state that the most convenient time for the seizure before Easter was missed due to the telegram from Ts.K .; during Easter, the seizure work was suspended. The pace of seizures in a number of places is being delayed by the ongoing agricultural campaign, but in a number of provinces there is a slow campaign, laxity and inaccurate implementation of instructions. Suggest Ts.K. to take measures against the provincial committees detaining the campaign for withdrawal. To instruct Comrade BELOBORODOV to present to the Central Committee. list of provinces [,] lagging behind in the work on the withdrawal. to comrade YAKOVLEV to provide information on the number of published agitational literature on confiscation and also on the literature sent out in the field. To state that the campaign was detained in the press in connection with the Genoa conference.

CHAIRMAN: (BELOBORODOV.)

SECRETARY: (LICIS.) [39]

*- L. 68. Typewritten extract made on May 9, 1922 and certified by A. G. Beloborodov's secretary V. Litsis. In the upper right corner there is a handwritten note: "*t. Stalin. " *Freehand secrecy formula.*

Notes and Comments:

[38] V GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 59 there are the following minutes of the meeting of the Bureau of the Central Commission for the seizure of church valuables.

Minutes No. 1 dated March 21, 1922 (sheet 32).

Minutes No. 2 dated March 24, 1922 (sheet 33).

Minutes No. 3 dated March 27, 1922 (fol. 34-rev.) (Original).

Minutes No. 4 of March 29, 1922 (fol. 35-rev.) (Original).

Minutes No. 5 dated March 31, 1922 (fol. 36-ob.) (Original).

Minutes No. 6 dated April 3, 1922 (fol. 37) (original).

Minutes No. 7 dated April 6, 1922 (fol. 38-rev.) (Original).

Minutes No. 8 dated April 10, 1922 (fol. 39-ob.).

Minutes No. 9 dated April 12, 1922 (sheet 40).

Minutes No. 10 dated April 20, 1922 (fol. 40-rev.) (Original).

Minutes No. 11 dated April 22, 1922 (sheet 42).

Minutes No. 12 dated April 26, 1922 (fol. 43) (original).

Minutes No. 13 dated May 4, 1922 (sheet 44).

Minutes No. 14 dated May 8, 1922 (fol. 45).

Minutes No. 15 dated May 10, 1922 (fol. 46).

Minutes No. 16 dated May 12, 1922 (fol. 47).

[39] For the text of the full protocol No. 14 of the Bureau of the Central CICC see: GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 45.

Summary of the Bureau of the Central Commission for the Seizure of Church Valuables in the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the progress of the seizure. May 10, 1922

No. 23-45

May 10, 1922

In Ts.K. R.K.P.

In addition to the excerpt from the minutes No. 14 of the meeting of the Bureau of the Central Commission dated 8 / V-22, a list of provinces is provided where the confiscation of church valuables is slow:

Belarus - seizure is hesitant. This results in a small amount of collected material assets and large thefts.

Yekaterinburg province - the seizure began much later [,] than in other provinces, joint meetings with the clergy and believers were arranged. Until now, the collected values are insignificant.

Vologda province - seizures are extremely sluggish. Despite the large number of churches, few valuables have been collected. The Bureau's repeated telegrams had no effect.

Vitebsk province - the seizure is carried out hesitantly. There were cases of meetings with clergy and believers. This resulted in excesses and small collection of valuables.

Gomel province - the seizure is also hesitant. There was no sufficient preparation for the seizure. Few values have been collected.

Kazan province - the seizure is carried out sluggishly, despite the fact that the starving population is sympathetic to the seizure of valuables. No inventory books and inventories were found. Values are hidden by priests.

Mari region - seizures are extremely weak.

Tambov province - the seizure is carried out in chaotic disorder, massive thefts have been carried out on a large scale. Such actions

caused excesses. Of the numerous churches in the Tambov province, few valuables have been withdrawn.

Ryazan province - withdrawal is slow. Few values have been collected. Thefts are allowed.

Penza province - the seizure is carried out unacceptably sluggishly. From fifty churches, only six pounds of silver have been collected.

Ufa province - seizure is poorly conducted. Meetings are arranged with the clergy, at which the priests oppose the seizure. The favorable mood of the starving population is not used.

Ukraine - according to the information collected only 160 poods of silver. Withdrawal is slow.

Mountain Republic - no information at all.

North Caucasus and Don - is going slowly. On the Don there were large thefts from temples.

Armenia [1] * - a statement was received that, in the opinion of the Council of People's Commissars, it is impossible to make an exemption due to local conditions [1] *.

A. Beloborodov

10.V.22.

- L. 69. Typewritten original, signature and date - autograph. In the lower right corner there is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number.

- GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 59. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark; signature and date - autograph. The last handwritten paragraph is missing.

- Ibid, d. 60, l. 946-rev. Handwritten rough script; signature and date missing. The last paragraph is missing. Three paragraphs before him are inscribed instead of the crossed out one: "Ukraine, Siberia, Turkestan, the Caucasus - they do not yet know their work at all." *In the*

penultimate paragraph of the original instead of "big" *it was written:* "large".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Written by hand by A.G. Beloborodov.*

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on agitation to confiscate church valuables." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 6, item 19 of May 11, 1922

No. 23-46 [40]

STRICTLY SECRET

By a poll of PB members from 8.V.22 .

19. - On agitation for the confiscation of church valuables .

(Proposal] Comrade Trotsky No. 44 / p) [41]

Comrade Trotsky's proposal to accept, entrusting the execution to the chief of] Rost, Comrade Daletsky.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 65. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.275, l. 27. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract of that time on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (Bolsheviks), signed by J.V. Stalin. Instead of the line "By a survey of PB members from 8.V.22." *printed* "Extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee. RCP from 8 / V-22, No. b ". *At the bottom left is the mailing record:* "t. Trotsky, comrade Daletsky. " *Item number in pencil. L. 2:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Kamenev, Rykov, Tomsky. Candidates Comrades Molotov, Kalinin. With an advisory] voice of comrade Tsyurup. "

Notes and Comments:

[40] In the draft minutes of this Politburo meeting (APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 275, l. 30) there is a sheet with a record of the results of the poll. Above, by the hand of JV Stalin, the wording of the resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) is given: "The proposal of Comrade. Trotsky to accept, entrusting the execution of the Chief] Rosta comrade. Daletsky. Stalin ". Below in

the hand of LB Kamenev there is a note: “I agree. Kamenev ". A stamp confirming that the document belongs to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 6, clause 19 of May 11, 1922 (No. 23-46).

In the draft minutes of this meeting of the Politburo (ibid., Fol. 29) there is also a sheet with the record of the results of the poll with the texts of JV Stalin and LB Kamenev reproduced in typescript. Below is a typewritten record of the results of the survey of VM Molotov and GE Zinoviev: “6 / V. Comrade Molotov agree. 7 / V. Comrade Zinoviev agree. " A. I. Rykov's hand under her: “A. I. Rykov "; by the hand of M. E. Tomsky: “M. Tomsk ". A stamp and a handwritten note about the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 6, item 19 of May 11, 1922 (No. 23-46). Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b).

In the draft minutes of this meeting of the Politburo (ibid., Fol. 38) there is also a document on the poll of the members of the Politburo conducted on May 9, 1922 regarding the proposal of I. V. Stalin “to use the favorable case presented by the session of the Central Executive Committee of the to appoint the Plenum of the Central Committee earlier than the deadline, say, on May 16. " In the agenda of the Plenary Session proposed by Stalin, item 4 - "Campaign to extract values". The poll was conducted by telephone, the results of which were recorded by the secretary on the same sheet. 38 below Stalin's autograph: "Lenin for, Kamenev for, Rykov for, Zinoviev agree, Comrade Tomsky for, Trotsky for." The results of the poll were formalized by the resolution of the Politburo, protocol No. 6, item 22 (ibid., Fol. 37).

[41] See # 23-43.

Supplement to the summary of the Bureau of the Central Commission for the confiscation of church valuables in the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the progress of the confiscation. May 16, 1922

No. 23-47

VERY SECRET

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RCP

In addition to our relationship No. [1] * dated May 10 this year. about the provinces in which the work on the confiscation of church valuables is proceeding weakly [,] I inform you that in the PERM province confiscation proceeds weakly. Collected only about a hundred pounds of silver. The wealthy districts of Sarapul, Kungur and Osinsky gave an insignificant amount of collected valuables. The commission did not start work for a long time. In the province there are places rich in churches: Solikamsk, Cherdyn, monasteries and others.

ASTRAKHAN GOVERNMENT : - seizure is carried out sluggishly, the amount collected is small. There were cases of agreement with the priests.

TYUMEN province : - withdrawal is going badly. Meetings with the priests were arranged. There are few valuables collected. There are enough rich churches in the province.

TSARITSINSKAYA Governorate : - The withdrawal is proceeding slowly, despite the fact that the starving population is sympathetic to the campaign.

A. Beloborodov.

16.V.22.

- L. 67. Typewritten original, signature and date - autograph. In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: " Arch [iv] p [oolit] b [yuro] ". *Stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee*

of the RCP (b) with handwritten date "May 18, 1922" *and the incoming number. Secrecy formula stamped.*

- GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d.59, l. 80. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark (vacation); signature and date missing.

- In the same place, d. 60, l. 957. Handwritten clerk's original; signature and date missing.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Further space is left for a number.*

Letter from L. D. Trotsky to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with proposals on policy towards the church, adopted by the Politburo. May 24, 1922

No. 23-48

C. secret

ANNEX TO PROTOCOL No. 8 ITEM 11 IN THE POLITBURO.

The internal struggle in the church became widespread. After the removal of Tikhon, a group of elements of the "center" (Anthony) [42] and the left (several young priests) became the head of the church .

The movement is proceeding mainly under the banner of the church council [.] The new church government can be defined in three directions:

1) the preservation of the patriarchate and the election of a loyal patriarch.

2) the destruction of the patriarchate and the creation of a collegium (loyal synod).

3) complete decentralization, the absence of any central government (the church, as an "ideal" set of communities of [1] * believers).

I believe that there is no need for us to engage in any of these directions (even unofficially). It is much more profitable if a serious struggle flares up between these three orientations. For this purpose, it is better to delay the convocation of a church council. Make the final choice later, if you need to make a choice at all.

A centralized church under a loyal and virtually powerless patriarch has certain advantages. Full decentralization can be accompanied by a deeper penetration of the church into the masses by adapting to local conditions. Finally, it is possible, and even quite probable, such a combination, when a part of the church retains a loyal patriarch, who is not recognized by the other part of the church,

organizing under the banner of a synod or full autonomy of communities. In the end, such a combination would be perhaps the most beneficial.

Are there any objections:

a) against delaying the Council for two months or more;

b) against a wait-and-see policy in relation to the indicated orientations in the church?

L. TROTSKY

May 24, 1922

- L. 71-72. Certified typewritten copy.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.277, l. 19. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original, signature - facsimile. On the last line of text, the originally typed "orientations" were *handwritten to* "orientations". *Instead of the typewritten line* "APPENDIX TO PROTOCOL No. 8 TO ITEM 11", *written in pencil* "Appendix,] 11". *At the top is the stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the handwritten date* "27 / V 1922" *and the incoming number. Below is a stamp about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 8, item 11 of May 26, 1922 (No. 23-49). Here is the stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (b.).*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Fixed in* general *document* .

[42] This refers to Bishop Antonin Granovsky.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on policy towards the church and on the "inadmissibility of red tape" in the execution of execution sentences. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 8, paragraph 11 of May 26, 1922

No. 23-49

STRICTLY SECRET

11. - About the church .

(Comrade Trotsky's proposal) [43] .

a) Accept Comrade Trotsky's proposal (see the materials of the Central Committee)

b) Indicate com. Kalinin and Yenukidze to the inadmissibility of the red tape they showed in implementing the PB decision of 18.VC. g. (pr [log] 7, p. 13) [44] and invite them to complete it during the day.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 70. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.277, l. 17. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of lined paper. The item number in the left and right columns has been changed to "11" *from* "10". *In the right-hand column in point a) the words* "materials of the Central Committee" *are written at the top instead of the crossed out* "appendix". *At the beginning of point b), a note enclosed in an oval:* " Do not attach to the protocol ." *At the bottom left is a record about the mailing:* "Trotsky, p. = Kalinin, Yenukidze. " *L. 2:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Kamenev, Trotsky, Stalin, Tomsky, Rykov. Candidates: com. Molotov, Kalinin. With an advisory] voice of comrade Tsyurup. "

Notes and Comments:

[43] See # 23-48.

[44] Resolution of the Politburo of May 18, 1922 (minutes No. 7, item 13) see: No. 24-25. The highest state officials - the chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee M. I. Kalinin and the secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee A. S. Yenukidze - thus, according to the decision of the Politburo, from the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic L. D. Trotsky and the Politburo, for their slow order ”of the conclusion of the Politburo commission on the execution of the verdict of the Revolutionary Military Tribunal on the trial of the Moscow clergy and believers (No. 24-20). The guilty comrades now had to duplicate the secret decision of the supreme party authority, making it public and available within one day - May 26, 1922.

Nevertheless, the official press organ of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Izvestia newspaper, continued to act on the given topic until June 2, 1922, when there was a mention of the five who had been shot. On May 31, 1922, the following article appeared on its pages under the heading "Judicial Department" under the heading "Confirmation of the verdict in the case of confiscation of church property": who was sentenced on May 8 by the Moscow tribunal.

The speaker was Comrade Nekhamkin. The defenders of Kommodov, Schwartz, Durasov and Ryazansky also spoke.

The content of the cassation complaints filed by the defenders in this process was at one time given in the "News [of] the All-Russian Central Executive Committee", as well as the content of the petitions of the relatives of some defendants sentenced to capital punishment to mitigate their fate.

The cassation board recognized the cassation reasons put forward by the defenders in written complaints and speeches at yesterday's trial as unfounded and ruled to uphold the judgment of the Moscow tribunal. At the same time, the cassation panel decided to send petitions for clemency to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, filed by the relatives of the accused sentenced to capital punishment. "

Consolidated statement of the Central Committee of the Posledgol All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the number of confiscated church valuables [November 4, 1922]

No. 23-50 * [45]

STATEMENT

number of collected church valuables up to November 1, 1922

1. According to the telegraphic information of the local Commissions for the confiscation of church [church] valuables, the following was seized:

1. Gold	33 p. 32 f.
2. Silver	23.997 p. 23 f.
3. Diamonds	35.670 pcs.
4. Other [precious] stones	71.762 pcs.
5. Pearls	14 p. 32 f.
6. Gold coins	RUB 3.115
7. Silver [oops] coins	RUB 19.155
8. Various [precious] things	52 p. 30 f.

II. From the specified amount, the following was received by Gokhran:

1. Gold	18 p. 16 f.
2. Silver	18.567 p.
3. Pearls	1 p. 25 p.
4. Gold coins	RUB 3.115
5. [Coins] silver [row]	RUB 19.155
6. Diamonds	5.209 ct.

7. Roses	1.712 ct.
8. Colored stones	13.403 ct.
9. Other different things	2.732 pcs.

FROM THEM: a) sold to NKFin:

1. Gold	14 p.	For total cost	In Golden Rubles.
2. Silver	17.000 p.		2.915.597 RUB 50 k.
b) Sorted and graded gems:			
1. Diamonds	5.209 ct.	The whole batch is priced in evil [otch] rubles [s]	132.886 RUB 57 r.
2. Roses	1.712 ct.		
3. Colored stones	13.403 ct.		
4. Pearls	1.076 angry		

c) Remains in Gokhran not realized according to the assessment of the exchange rate of the day in gold rubles:

1. Gold	4 p. 32 f.	31.948 RUB 40 k.
2. Silver	1.567 p.	271.240 RUB
3. Pearls	1 p. 12 f.	19.968 p.
4. Coins of evil [ooi]	-	3.115 p.
5. Silver change coins	19.155 p. [1] *	4.631 p.
TOTAL	330.902 RUB 40 k.	

III. Remained in place according to the rate of the day:

1. Gold	15 p. 18 f.	for the amount	RUB 121.274 60 k.
2. Silver	7.430 [2] *		947.781 RUB 60 k.
3. Pearls	13 poods 7 lb.		202.368 p.
TOTAL		1.271.424 RUB 20 k.	
Total seized at an approximate amount of		4,650,810 RUB 67 r.	

In addition to the indicated ecclesiastical values, 964 antiques were selected for a special assessment.

Central Committee Postgol All-Russian Central Executive Committee: A. Vinokurov

- L. 76-77. Typewritten original, signature - autograph. Dated from a cover letter (see note to No. 23-50).

- GARF, f. 1065, op. 4, d.182, l. 125. Typewritten copy of that time. The text has been preserved until the line "TOTAL ..." of *point II. In subparagraph a) the line* "In gold rubles" *is written by hand. In subparagraph c) in the line* "3. Pearls ... " *printed:* " 4 rubles. for the spool ", *in the line* " 5. Silver] ... "-" in angry [otykh] rub. " *At the top of the document there is a handwritten note:* "45 II".

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the Postgol Central Committee, sent on November 4, 1922, signed by the Deputy Chairman of the Postgol Central Committee of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee AN Vinokurov "to the Central Committee of the RCP in the Bureau of the Secretariat". On the letter, the stamp: "S. Secret. " (L. 75).

A copy of the GARF contains the same cover letter (vacation) with the same date and signature. Top of the litter: "45 II". (L. 126).

[1] * *So in the document instead of a weight measure.*

[2] * *The measure of weight is not indicated in the document, it follows, apparently, poods.*

[45] V GARF, f. 1065, op. 4, d.182, l. 139 is a letter on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), sent on November 1, 1922 “on behalf of Comrade MOLOTOV "" In the Postgol Central Committee of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, comrade. KALININ "signed by the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) GA Tikhomirnov with a request" to send to the Central Committee a report on the amount of collected church valuables with an estimate of the value of the collected in gold rubles. " Initially, the date was set: "October 31, 1922". On the letter there is a handwritten note: "urgently send to the destination." Under her hand MI Kalinin another litter: “t. Vinokurov. M. K [alinin] ". Below AN Vinokurov's hand is the third litter: “<Zashchippko (?)>. Secret. A. Vinokurov] ". Above, there is a stamp: " TOTALLY] SECRET ."

Letter from the People's Commissariat of Finance of the Ukrainian SSR to the Currency Directorate of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the USSR on the secondment of a commissioner to negotiate the implementation of the values found in the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra. February 2, 1925

No. 23-51 [46]

February 2, 1925

By urgent mail.

Top secret.

Personally.

EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT OF THE NARKOMFIN OF THE USSR

Comrade KARKLIN.

The Politburo of the Center [al] Committee of the CP (6) U made a decision to transfer the values of the Central Committee of Aid to the Children of Ukraine discovered in the Kiev Pechersk Lavra. As a result, we ask you to order MYuT to send its authorized representative to Kiev to negotiate their implementation.

Narkomfin U.S..S.R. (Kuznetsov)

Head of the Foreign Exchange Office (Kapitanovsky) - *L. 78. Certified typewritten copy made on February 7, 1925. In the upper left corner, the typewritten form of the Secret Department of the People's Commissariat for Finance of the Ukrainian SSR with the date* "2 / 11-1925" is reproduced. *In the upper right corner there is a stamp stating that the document belongs to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 48, item 12 of February 12, 1925 (No. 23-53). On the left is a mailing stamp with handwritten date* "11/10/1925" *(the number* "10" has been *corrected from the previously written number* "7") *and the outgoing number. Below is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a handwritten date* "11/13/25" *and an incoming number.*

Notes and Comments:

[46]O. Yu. Vasilieva and PN Knyshevsky, relying on the publication in the émigré newspaper Dni (Berlin) of January 6, 1925, interpret the “repeated 'cleaning' of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra" as follows. in its basements, several pounds of gold and 110 pounds of silver artwork were found, sheltered from the evil eyes of property managers in 1922. Church jewelry with 360 diamonds, several bags of old interest-bearing papers worth several million rubles and "counter-revolutionary" correspondence of Tikhonov's persuasion were also found ". See: Vasilyeva O. Yu., Knyshevsky P. N. Red conquistadors. S. 191-192. Apparently, the source of information for the émigré newspaper was the Soviet press, which was quite actively discussing this story. So, for example, in the newspaper "Izvestia" (1925 January 6), a note was published, aimed at discrediting Patriarch Tikhon, who, in the opinion of its author, not only concealed the discovered values, but also sent "intelligence information" abroad through the "monastic agents". On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). in the opinion of its author, he not only concealed the discovered values, but also sent “intelligence information” abroad through the “monastic agents”. On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to

govern". Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). in the opinion of its author, he not only concealed the discovered values, but also sent "intelligence information" abroad through the "monastic agents". On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the "actual opportunity to govern". Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the "actual opportunity to govern". Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the "actual opportunity to govern". Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with

"foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). after the Soviet regime deprived the "de facto possibility of government" of the Ukrainian archpastors. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). after the Soviet regime deprived the "de facto possibility of government" of the Ukrainian archpastors. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350).

Letter from the USSR People's Commissariat of Finance to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) regarding the implementation of the values found in the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra. 7 February 1925

No. 23-52 [46]

7 February 1925

IN THE POLITBURO of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)

By decree of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine [1] * various metal and currency values found in the former. Kiev-Pechersk Lavra are transferred to strengthen the funds of the Ukrainian Central Commission for Assistance to Children.

The NKF of the USSR, which has set itself the task of accumulating the largest possible gold reserve of the USSR, as an instrument for regulating the country's monetary circulation and as a necessary foundation for restoring the exchange of chervonets, upon the occurrence of the appropriate conditions, cannot agree with the aforementioned resolution.

Found values in b. The Kiev-Pechersk Lavra is not the property of the Lavra, but is the property of the bourgeoisie who fled from the USSR and hid it in the Lavra. Therefore, the aforementioned property, whatever it may be, is subject to turning into the ownership of the Union, in accordance with clause 1 of the Decree] SNK of 19 / XI-20 (Collection [of] Legislation] 1921, No. 18, Art. III). Regardless of this, the disposal of the aforementioned values, without agreement with the NKF of the USSR, would not comply with paragraph 1 of Art. 5 Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR of October 29, 1924 on the budgetary rights of the USSR and its constituent union republics, according to which all non-tax revenues are included in the revenue side of the all-union budget; the values found in the Lavra are random incomes of the united department of the USSR-NKF-in. -

On the basis of the above considerations, the NKF asks the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to enter into the consideration of the aforementioned issue and cancel the decision of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Ukraine with a proposal to urgently send all these values with a detailed description of them to the center. (USSR Gokhran. Nastasinsky lane [eulok] 3) .-

Considering the existence of this resolution [,] the NKF of the USSR recognizes it possible, upon the final assessment of metal and other property valuables in Gokhran, to allocate 25% of their estimated value to the CEC of Ukraine for the transfer of the Ukrainian Central Commission for Assistance to Children. -

DEPUTY] NARKOMFIN OF THE USSR N. Bryukhanov

DEPUTY] HEAD OF EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT R. Karklin

7 / II-25 g.

- L. 80 — rev. Typewritten original on the letterhead of the USSR People's Commissariat of Finance Currency Department, signatures - autographs. Date on the form "February 9, 1925": *date - by hand, month and the last digit of the year - typed. In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note:* "Size [knife] S. Ch [echulin]". In *the upper right corner there is a stamp stating that the document belongs to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 48, item 12 of February 12, 1925 (No. 23-53). Below is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a handwritten date* "11/13/25" *and an incoming number. On the left there is a calendar-hour stamp:* RECEIVED. 9.I.1925. Secretariat Bureau] Ts.K. R.K.P. (b) ". *There is also a mailing stamp with a handwritten date* "7.II. 1925 " *and outgoing number.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Further crossed out by hand* (see appendix).

[46]O. Yu. Vasilieva and PN Knyshevsky, relying on the publication in the émigré newspaper Dni (Berlin) of January 6, 1925, interpret the "repeated 'cleaning' of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra" as follows. in its

basements, several pounds of gold and 110 pounds of silver artwork were found, sheltered from the evil eyes of property managers in 1922. Church jewelry with 360 diamonds, several bags of old interest-bearing papers worth several million rubles and "counter-revolutionary" correspondence of Tikhonov's persuasion were also found ". See: Vasilyeva O. Yu., Knyshevsky P. N. Red conquistadors. S. 191-192. Apparently, the source of information for the émigré newspaper was the Soviet press, which was quite actively discussing this story. So, for example, in the newspaper "Izvestia" (1925 January 6), a note was published, aimed at discrediting Patriarch Tikhon, who, in the opinion of its author, not only concealed the discovered values, but also sent "intelligence information" abroad through the "monastic agents". On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). in the opinion of its author, he not only concealed the discovered values, but also sent “intelligence information” abroad through the “monastic agents”. On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch

Tikhon ... p. 350). in the opinion of its author, he not only concealed the discovered values, but also sent “intelligence information” abroad through the “monastic agents”. On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). after the Soviet regime deprived the "de facto possibility of government" of the Ukrainian archpastors. Therefore,

he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). after the Soviet regime deprived the "de facto possibility of government" of the Ukrainian archpastors. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350).

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the implementation of the values found in the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 48, item 12 of February 12, 1925

No. 23-53 [46]

STRICTLY SECRET

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
12. About the values found in b. Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, (Comrade Bryukhanov)	12. Set aside for a week.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 79- Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) 1925, made on February 12, 1925. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "Com. Quiring, Bryukhanov ". *In the lower right corner there is a handwritten note referring to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 49, item 15 of February 19, 1925 (No. 23-54).*

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.475, l. 23. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the form of the Politburo resolutions, the column "They listened" *on a typewriter, the column* "Decided" *by hand. The first printed name of Kvirit was deleted from the speakers.* "For a week" is *attributed by the hand of L. Z. Mehlis. At the bottom, in his own hand, is the mailing address:* "Extracts from com. Quiring, Bryukhanov ". *The last line of the form* "By whom (signature) was sent" is the *autograph of PS Lepeshinskaya. L. 4:* "Present: members of the Politburo: comrades. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, Rykov, Tomsky. Candidates: com. Frunze, Dzerzhinsky. Central Committee members: comrades. Krasin, Rakovsky, Pyatakov, Tsyurupa, Kamenev, Bubnov, Zalutsky [1]*, Uglanov, Smirnov, Kaganovich, Mikhailov, S. Schwartz, Andreev, Dogadov. Kand [idats]: Vareikis, Smilga. Members of the Central Control Commission: comrades. Gusev, Kuibyshev, Yanson, Shkiryatov, Yaroslavsky [2] * ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Further crossed out* Vareikis, Smilga.

[2] * *Further crossed out* Schwartz.

[46]O. Yu. Vasilieva and PN Knyshevsky, relying on the publication in the émigré newspaper Dni (Berlin) of January 6, 1925, interpret the “repeated 'cleaning' of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra" as follows. in its basements, several pounds of gold and 110 pounds of silver artwork were found, sheltered from the evil eyes of property managers in 1922. Church jewelry with 360 diamonds, several bags of old interest-bearing papers worth several million rubles and "counter-revolutionary" correspondence of Tikhonov's persuasion were also found ". See: Vasilyeva O. Yu., Knyshevsky P. N. Red conquistadors. S. 191-192. Apparently, the source of information for the émigré newspaper was the Soviet press, which was quite actively discussing this story. So, for example, in the newspaper "Izvestia" (1925 January 6), a note was published, aimed at discrediting Patriarch Tikhon, who, in the opinion of its author, not only concealed the discovered values, but also sent "intelligence information" abroad through the "monastic agents". On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). in the opinion of its author, he not only concealed the discovered values, but also sent “intelligence information” abroad through the “monastic agents”. On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian

Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). in the opinion of its author, he not only concealed the discovered values, but also sent “intelligence information” abroad through the “monastic agents”. On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived

the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). after the Soviet regime deprived the "de facto possibility of government" of the Ukrainian archpastors. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). after the Soviet regime deprived the "de facto possibility of government" of the Ukrainian archpastors. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350).

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the implementation of the values found in the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 49, paragraph 15 of February 19, 1925

No. 23-54 [46]

STRICTLY SECRET

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
15. About the values found in Kiev-Pechersk Lavra. (PB 12 / II, pr [report] No. 48 p.b. 12). (Comrades Bryukhanov, Vladimirsky).	6.Allow the Central Committee of fromthe CPU to use those found in Kiev-Pechersk Lavra values are completely on the hungry and children within the Ukrainian SSR.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 81. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) 1925, made on February 19, 1925. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "Comrade. BRYUKHANOV ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.476, l. 28. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the form of the Politburo resolutions, the column "They listened" *on a typewriter, the column* "Decided" *by hand. The number of the paragraph in the upper part of the form was corrected by hand to "15" instead of the previously printed "12",* next to the date of the meeting "17" was corrected by hand to "19". *Below by hand of L. 3. Mekhlis mailing address:* "Extracts from com. Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to Quiring - in code; Bruchanov ". *The last line of the form* "By whom (signature) sent" is the *autograph of S. F. Chechulin. L. 4:*"Present: members of the Politburo: comrades. Bukharin, Zinoviev, Rykov, Stalin, Tomsky. PB membership candidates: Comrades Rudzutak, Frunze. Members of the Central Committee of the RCP Comrades Krasin, Rakovsky, Tsyurupa, Bubnov, Vareikis, Pyatakov, Kaganovich, Mikhailov, A.P. Smirnov, Uglanov, Dogadov. Members of the Pres [idium] Central Control

Commission Comrades Gusev, Yaroslavsky, Schwartz, Kuibyshev, Shkiryatov ".

Notes and Comments:

[46]O. Yu. Vasilieva and PN Knyshevsky, relying on the publication in the émigré newspaper Dni (Berlin) of January 6, 1925, interpret the "repeated 'cleaning' of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra" as follows. in its basements, several pounds of gold and 110 pounds of silver artwork were found, sheltered from the evil eyes of property managers in 1922. Church jewelry with 360 diamonds, several bags of old interest-bearing papers worth several million rubles and "counter-revolutionary" correspondence of Tikhonov's persuasion were also found ". See: Vasilyeva O. Yu., Knyshevsky P. N. Red conquistadors. S. 191-192. Apparently, the source of information for the émigré newspaper was the Soviet press, which was quite actively discussing this story. So, for example, in the newspaper "Izvestia" (1925 January 6), a note was published, aimed at discrediting Patriarch Tikhon, who, in the opinion of its author, not only concealed the discovered values, but also sent "intelligence information" abroad through the "monastic agents". On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the "actual opportunity to govern". Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). in the opinion of its author, he not only concealed the discovered values, but also sent "intelligence information" abroad through the "monastic agents". On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian

Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). in the opinion of its author, he not only concealed the discovered values, but also sent “intelligence information” abroad through the “monastic agents”. On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). On this occasion, Patriarch Tikhon was forced to contact the editorial office of the newspaper on January 10, 1925, with a request to publish his refutation (Izvestia. 1925, January 18). In his letter, the head of the Russian Church announced that he took over the management of the monastery at the beginning of 1924 after the Soviet regime deprived

the Ukrainian archpastors of the “actual opportunity to govern”. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). after the Soviet regime deprived the "de facto possibility of government" of the Ukrainian archpastors. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350). after the Soviet regime deprived the "de facto possibility of government" of the Ukrainian archpastors. Therefore, he could not make an order to conceal valuables in the Lavra, and even more so to communicate through monks with "foreign counter-revolution" and with "counter-revolutionary groups within the USSR." (See: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 350).

On the trials in the case of St. Petersburg, Moscow and other priests and Polish priests in Belarus.

JV Stalin's note to the members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on voting by poll to approve the death sentence of two priests in the case of Shuya clergy and believers.
May 2, 1922

No. 24-1

Members of the Politburo

T.t. TOMSKY, RYKOV, MOLOTOV.

Forwarded for poll of the Members of the Politburo.

A session of the Revolutionary Tribunal in Ivanovo-Voznesensk sentenced to execution two priests [1] ; Comrade Kalinin proposes to cancel the decision of the Revolutionary Tribunal;

T.t. Stalin, Trotsky and Lenin, on the contrary, propose not to cancel the decision of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Secretary of the Central Committee I. Stalin

- L. 2. Typewritten original on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), signature - facsimile. Date, month and last digit of the year of the date in handwritten form. Round stamp: "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY BOLSHEVIKS", in the *center with the monogram* "Central Committee". *The stamp confirming that the document belongs to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 5, item 23 of May 4, 1922 (No. 24-5). In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number.*

- L. 3. Handwritten draft original, autograph (?). In the lower right corner there is a stamp indicating that the document belongs to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 5, paragraph 23 of May 4, 1922 (No. 24-5). Unlike the typewritten white paper, the address and surnames of the addressees are missing; the formula of the survey is as follows: "For the survey of PB members". *Before the words* "Comrade. Kalinin

”the *word* “ Presidium ”was *deleted* . *The word* "vice versa" is *written above the line. At the end of the text, the words:* "Please vote."

Notes and Comments:

[1] We are talking about the verdict passed on April 25, 1922 in the city of Ivanovo-Voznesensk by the visiting session of the Supreme Tribunal in the case of the events in the city of Shuya (No. P-109). The tribunal sentenced to death the priests Ivan Stepanovich Rozhdestvensky, Pavel Mikhailovich Svetozarov and the layman Pyotr Ivanovich Yazykov. See also # 24-2, 24-3, 24-5.

Record of the results of voting in the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the proposal of MI Kalinin to abolish the death sentence to two priests in the case of the Shuya clergy and believers [May 2, 1922]

No. 24-2

[May 2, 1922]

VOTING RESULTS:

Comrade LENIN	
Trotsky	Approve the decision of the Revolutionary Tribunal.
Stalin	
Molotov	
Comrade RYKOV	For commutation of the death sentence.
TOMSKY	For canceling the sentence
KAMENEV	For canceling the sentence.

- L. 4. Typewritten copy of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). A stamp and a handwritten note on the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 5, item 23 of May 4, 1922 (No. 24-5). Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number. Dated to No. 24-5.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) confirming the previously adopted decision on the case of the Shui clergy and believers. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 5, paragraph 5 of May 4, 1922

No. 24-3 [2]

STRICTLY SECRET

5. About Shuya priests. (Comrade Kalinin).

Confirm the decision of the Politburo from 2.V. from. d. [3]

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 5. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.274, l. 6. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of lined paper. At the bottom left is the mailing entry: "Kalinin". *For the list of those present, see No. 23-40.*

Notes and Comments:

[2] Thus, the execution of two priests in connection with the events in Shuya was sanctioned by the Politburo on 4 May 1922 twice (No. 24-3 and 24-5).

[3] For the implementation of this decision, see No. P-125, P-126.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on the Moscow process in connection with the confiscation of valuables." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 5, paragraph 6 of May 4, 1922

No. 24-4, STRICTLY SECRET

6.— On the Moscow process in connection with the confiscation of valuables. (Comrades Trotsky, Kamenev, Beck).

a) Issue a directive to the Moscow Tribunal

1) immediately bring Tikhon to court, 2) apply capital punishment to the priests.

b) In view of insufficient press coverage of the Moscow trial, instruct Comrade Trotsky, on behalf of the Politburo, to instruct the editors of all Moscow newspapers today about the need to pay incomparably greater attention to this process and, in particular, to clarify the role of the upper echelons of the church hierarchy.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 6. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s. The form contains the wrong date: "5.V-1922". *Below is a handwritten note:* " Kk (Kkh?). help . Mater [ials] see subsection - about Tikhon. " *Under it is a litter with the other hand, referring to the resolution of the Politburo meeting, protocol No. 6, clause 18c* "dated 8 / V-22" *(No. 24-12).*

- APRF, f. 3, op. 60, d.25, l. 5. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark. In the form, the number "5" *in the typewritten date has been corrected by hand to* "4".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.274, l. 6 - rev. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of lined paper. In item a 1) "immediately" *is written with the same hand above the line. In item a 2)* "to the priests" *is inscribed with the same hand above the line. At the end of p. B,* "top" is *converted from* "supreme". *At the bottom left is the mailing record:* "p. and Beck, Kamenev, everything to Trotsky. " *For the list of those present, see No. 23-40.*

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the approval of the death sentence to two priests in the case of the Shui clergy and believers. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 5, paragraph 23 of May 4, 1922

No. 24-5

STRICTLY SECRET

By a survey of PB members dated May 2, 22

23. - About the verdict of the session of the Revolutionary Tribunal in Ivanovo-Voznesensk about two priests (proposal of comrade Kalinin).

Approve the verdict of the session of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 1. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s. Below is a handwritten note referring to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 5, item 5c of May 4, 1922 (No. 24-3).

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.274, l. 42. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract of that time on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b); signature - autograph of I. V. Stalin. Item number in pencil. Above the text of the extract in ink: "Appendix] to pr [report] P / 6 No. 5 p. 5". *For the list of those present, see No. 23-40.*

The verdict of the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers. May 8, 1922

No. 24-6 [4]

SENTENCE.

IN THE NAME OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE SOVIET REPUBLIC, the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal in a public meeting chaired by Comrade BEK, members of the Tribunal Comrades GUSEVA and DUBROVIN from April 26 to MAY 8, 1922, having considered the case of Boris Ivanovich ZABAVIN, 52 years old, priest of the Burning Kupino Church, Anatoly ORLOV [1]ZAOZERSKOGO Alexander Nikolaevich, 42 years old, priest of the Church of Paraskeva in Okhotny Ryad, DOBROLYUBOVA Alexander Fedorovich, 58 years old, priest] of the Church of Nikolo-Yavlennaya, FRYAZINOV Sergei Ivanovich, 42 years old, priest [of] the Church of Paraskeva Friday, Evgeny Nikolaevich EFIMOVA, 48 years old, city of mountains. Starobelsky, Kharkiv province, professor of the Institute of Education, non-partisan, rushing, PSHENICHNIKOV Sergey Nikolaevich, 58 years old, city of mountains. Moscow, commodity expert of the Fish Department of the Central Union, non-partisan, unsuccessful, Stepan Petrovich CHERNYSHEV, 60 years old, gr. mountains. Egoryevsk, Ryazan province., Professor of Moscow University, non-partisan, unsuccessful, Nikolai Alexandrovich BRYZGALOV, 36 years old, gr. mountains. Moscow, engineer, non-partisan, unsuccessful, ASAFOV Kirill Mikhailovich, 26 years old, city of mountains. Moscow, employee of the Historical Museum, unsuccessful, non-partisan, CHERNOV Dmitry Timofeevich, 45 years old, citizen of Penza province, Gorodishchensky district, Nikolo-Peskovskaya volost, Head of the warehouse of Pharmaceutical plant No. 1, non-partisan, not convicted, BASHKAREV 20-tyr Vladimir Alexandrovich years, g-on mountains. Moscow, non-party, unsuccessful, student, BASHKAREVA Alexander Alexandrovich, 22 years old, city of mountains. Moscow, non-partisan, unsuccessful student, NOVIKOV Peter Maksimovich, 36 years old, citizen of Kaluga

province. Masalsky district, village Glotovsky Ovragi, carpenter, TELEGINA Makara, 46 years old, citizen of Samara province, Buzuluk district, Letnikovskaya not condemned, BASHKAREV Vladimir Alexandrovich, 20 years old, citizen of the mountains. Moscow, non-party, unsuccessful, student, BASHKAREVA Alexander Alexandrovich, 22 years old, city of mountains. Moscow, non-partisan, unsuccessful student, NOVIKOV Peter Maksimovich, 36 years old, citizen of Kaluga province. Masalsky district, village Glotovsky Ovragi, carpenter, TELEGINA Makara, 46 years old, citizen of Samara province, Buzuluk district, Letnikovskaya not condemned, BASHKAREV Vladimir Alexandrovich, 20 years old, citizen of the mountains. Moscow, non-party, unsuccessful, student, BASHKAREVA Alexander Alexandrovich, 22 years old, city of mountains. Moscow, non-party, unsuccessful student, NOVIKOV Peter Maksimovich, 36 years old, citizen of Kaluga province. Masalsky district, village Glotovsky Ovragi, carpenter, TELEGINA Makara, 46 years old, citizen of Samara province, Buzuluk district, Letnikovskaya[2*] volost, village, hieromonk, GUBITSYN Semyon Pavlovich, 36 years old, citizen of Vladimir province, non-party, unsuccessful, unemployed, Mikhail Frolovich TALAGAEV, 44 years old, citizen of Tula province, Kashirsky district, village of Mokroe , locksmith, non-partisan, unsuccessful, Mikhail Petrovich PETROV, 43 years old, city of mountains. Moscow, non-party, unsuccessful, BRUSILOV Varvara Ivanovna, 22 years old, city of mountains. Moscow, unemployed, IVANOVA Ivan Sergeevich, 32 years old, city of mountains. Skopin, Ryazan province., Non-party, unsuccessful, merchant, JURGENSON Peter Borisovich, 18 years old, city of mountains. Moscow, non-partisan, unsuccessful, student of General Education courses at Moscow University, IONOVA Stepan Romanovich, 34 years old, citizen of Saratov province, Serdobsky district, village Sekretarki, unsuccessful, partyless, projectionist, CHERNENKO Nikolai Yakovlevich, 54 years old, mountain. Klin, non-party, unsuccessful, cook, unemployed, priests Nikolai Mikhailovich MIKHAILOVSKY, 56 years old, priest [ennik] of the

Epiphany Church, in Dorogomilov, Sergei Vasilievich ZERTSALOV, priest [ennik] of the same church, 66 years old, NADEZHDINA Victor Aleksandrovich, 46 years old, priest of the same church, Vasily Ivanovich SOKOLOV[3] *, 46 years old, priest of the Church of Nicholas the Epiphany, on the Arbat, Nikolai Ivanovich MOTYLEV, 36 years old, citizen of Moscow province. and county, Head of the Financial Department of the Zamoskvoretsky Council and accountant of the Pavlovsk hospital, a member of the Moscow Council, BELOV Yakov Vasilyevich [4]*, 54 years old, citizen of Kaluga province, Tarusa district, Trinity volost, village. Maleevo, laborer, BARKUNOV Ekaterina Mikhailovna, 18 years old, citizen of Ryazan province, Skopinsky district, Korneevskaya vol., Unemployed, TIKHOMIROV Sergei Fedorovich, 57 years old, city of mountains. Moscow, butcher, BARANTSEV Sergei Alekseevich, city of mountains. Moscow, 19 years old, weigher, PA [V] LOVA Kirill Vasilyevich, 29 years old, citizen of Tula province, Yegoryevsky district, Myatlovskaya vol., Village. Dyakovo, KUZNETSOV Tikhon Grigorievich, 45 years old, Tula province, Chernsky district, Pryadikhinskaya vol., And a village, porter, PTUSHKIN Andrey Ivanovich, 42 years old, citizen of Kaluga province, Zhizdrinsky district, Maklakovsky vol. and a village, a laborer, SHOSTI Andrey Mikhailovich, 53 years old, citizen of the Poltava province., village. Shosti, postman, Mikhail Nikolaevich Rokhanov, 43 years old, citizen of Vitebsk province, of the same district, Selok volost, der. Drills, woodcutter, MAKSIMOV Ivan Egorovich, 37 years old, citizen of Moscow province, Vereisky district, Kudinsky vol., Village. Grigorevo, tailor, GOLUBEVA Andrei Yegorovich, 60 years old, tr-on Kaluga province., Maloyaroslavsky district, Vetchinsky volost, village. Goncharovka, TSIRKINA Andrian Ksenofontovich, 57 years old, citizen of Tver province, Korchevsky district, Kudryavtsevsky volost, village. Tryaskino, VORONINA Stepan Nikitich, 56 years old, citizen of Moscow] province, Zvenigorodsky district, Yakuninskaya volost, village. Kuligin, turner, SOLOMINA TSIRKINA Andrian Ksenofontovich, 57 years old, citizen of Tver province, Korchevsky district, Kudryavtsevsky volost, village. Tryaskino, VORONINA

Stepan Nikitich, 56 years old, citizen of Moscow] province, Zvenigorodsky district, Yakuninskaya volost, village. Kuligin, turner, SOLOMINA TSIRKINA Andrian Ksenofontovich, 57 years old, citizen of Tver province, Korchevsky district, Kudryavtsevsky volost, village. Tryaskino, VORONINA Stepan Nikitich, 56 years old, citizen of Moscow] province, Zvenigorodsky district, Yakuninskaya volost, village. Kuligin, turner, SOLOMINA[5] * Mikhail Yakovlevich, 33 years old, citizen of Tver province, Bogorodsky volost, village. Platskovo, Ivan Petrovich BROVKINA, 18 years old, citizen of Moscow] province, Zvenigorodsky district, Aksenyevsky volost, village. Ignatievo, merchant, ZAITSEV Nikolai Semenovich, 17 years old, peasant] Ryazan province., Village. Repshino ACCUSED:

1) The priests: POSPELOVA, ZAOZERSKY, DOBROLYUBOVA and NADEZHDIN Christopher in the fact that, being members of an organization called the Orthodox hierarchy, they, by prior agreement among themselves, as well as by agreement with other persons, were not detected by the investigation, in order to prevent common efforts from carrying out in the life of the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and instructions to it on the withdrawal of the church values in use by groups of believers to the special fund of the Central Committee. Pomgol to save the starving and to seed their fields [5], as well as in order to preserve these values in actual use and management of the clergy, they, during the month of March 1922 in the mountains. Moscow, deliberately and deliberately for selfish purposes: a) secretly disseminated information known to be false about the activities of officials of the administration of the Soviet power and individual members of local commissions Pomgol, inciting hostile attitude towards them in the middle class strata of the population, b) also called on these layers of the population and the clergy subordinate to them to massive opposition to the aforementioned order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the fulfillment of the duties assigned to them by the same order, c) openly presented to the clergy of the Moscow diocese subordinate to them for reading from the pulpit and further dissemination among the population, an

appeal indicating that church jewelry is inviolable and not subject to withdrawal,[6] , 4 March s / y. in the mountains. In Moscow, in the Church of John the Warrior, from the pulpit he openly delivered a sermon of a non-religious nature, on the theme of "the dying, powerful, once Russian state", calling on the population to offer active resistance to the implementation of the above-mentioned resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, especially noting that this resolution about the confiscation of church valuables for the needs of the starving, there is a judgment of God, justly coming on believers as punishment for apostasy and disobedience to the church, and that the issuance of this decree is already the first signs of this judgment of God [7] .

2) The same DOBROLYUBOV and the priests ZABAVIN, ORLOV, FRYAZINOV, KRYUCHKOV, ROZANOV, Viktor Sokolov, KEDROV, LEPEKHIN, ZERTSALOV, NIKOLSKY, MIKHAILOVSKY, NADEZHDIN Viktor and members of the same organization. gr. EFIMOVA, CHERNYSHEVA, MOTYLEVA is that, having previously agreed with each other and the accused listed in paragraph 1, with the same purpose, then they took a personal and direct part in propaganda and agitation among believers and mainly among ignorant bourgeois strata of the population , both in the churches entrusted to them and at parish meetings, knowingly false information about the purpose and purpose of the seizure of church valuables, as well as about the activities of representatives of the Workers 'and Peasants' Power,

3) The aforementioned MIKHAILOVSKY and priest ZERTSALOV in the fact that having direct connections with the above clergy and being present on April 7 in the Church of the Epiphany on the day of the confiscation of church valuables and leading a hostile attitude towards the confiscation of [6] * from the crowd of the assembled criminally fanatical crowd, they did not accept appropriate measures to explain to this crowd knowingly false rumors about the purpose and purpose of the seizure, and also did not take appropriate measures to stop the disorder caused by secret

agitation, which resulted in the beating of the Red Army soldiers guarding the temple, of which several were seriously wounded.

4) The same priests MIKHAILOVSKY, ZERTSALOV in the fact that by prior agreement with each other and by agreement with other persons, the investigation was not found, for a selfish purpose: other property, without entering it in a timely manner in the inventory, according to which they transferred church property to the special fund of the Central Committee. Pomgol, and on the day of the confiscation of church valuables, that is, April 7 this year. hid the aforementioned property in the temple, b) discovering in 1921-1922. the theft of church property also hidden from the register: the icon and carpets, they deliberately did not report this to the investigative and judicial authorities, the consequence of which was the inevitability of [7] * establishing the fact of theft or appropriation of the aforementioned property.

5) Vasily SOKOLOV in the fact that on April 7 this year, being a member of an organization called the Orthodox hierarchy, on April 7 in the Church of Nicholas the Apparition, on the Arbat, after the seizure of church values from the named temple, using the religious prejudices of the masses , in order to discredit the Soviet power, pronounced contrary to § 6 of the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of June 13, 1921 [8]a sermon of a non-religious nature, in which, indicating that the seizure of church valuables from the named church had already taken place, he called the seizure itself a robbery, and the members of the Commission - bandits who broke into the temple and with their dirty hands tore off the vestments from the icons, took away crosses, gospels, vessels, etc. n. that the Soviet Power had previously taken away all the gold and silver belonging to the state, and now seeks to seize the church property, and calling in this sermon the population to turn to God in prayer and ask the latter to “sweep ancient Babylon off the face of the earth [”], and this was expressed in the words of the psalm he uttered "on the rivers of Babylon", "the daughters of the Babylonians are persecuted," ["] blessed is he who bears and breaks your baby on a stone."

6) Pshenichnikova, Bryzgalov, Asaph, rough, BASHKAREVA Vladimir BASHKAREVA Alexander Novikov, Telegin, TALAGAEVA, Petrova, Brusilov, Ivanovo, Jurgenson, ions, Chernenko, Belov, Golubeva, Tsirkin, BARKUNOVU [8] * Catherine, Solomin, Tikhomirov, Brovkina , BARANTSEVA, ZAITSEVA [9] *, KOROVKINA [9] , PAVLOVA, KUZNETSOVA, PTUSHKINA, SHOSTI, Rokhanova, MAKSIMOVA [9]*, VORONINA that being under the influence of agitation on the part of the clergy, mentioned above in the first 2 paragraphs, on the day of withdrawal from Moscow churches and monasteries, during the month of March of church valuables, they took part in public assemblies, which, acting as united by the forces of the participants as a result of motives arising from enmity towards the RCP to the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on seizure, inciting the population to resist the persons making the seizure, spreading false information, knowingly for them, that most of the seized property will be plundered, that this seizure is carried out in the interests of the Communists and the Jewish population that the latter are raping Russia with impunity, that laws are not written for them, and therefore the population itself must shorten their arms, that is, causing party and tribal enmity, and this was especially shown by:BASHKAREV[10] * Vladimir, BASHKAREV [11] * Alexander, Pshenichnikov, Bryzgalov, Asafov, CHERNOV, NOVIKOV, TELEGIN, GUBITSYN, TALAGAEV, PETROV, BRUSILOVA, IVANOV, YURGENSON, IONOV, CHERNENKO, and also openly and also Tsar Golubov opposition to the seizure of church values, expressed in the beating of the Red Army men who were guarding during the seizure, as a result of which many Red Army men were seriously wounded, and the rest of the citizens named in this paragraph took part in this especially.

The Tribunal, having checked the materials of the preliminary investigation, the testimony of witnesses, the explanations of the representatives of the prosecution, the defense and the defendants themselves at the Court Session, DECIDED:

1) The accusation against POSPELOV, ZAOZERSKY, DOBROLYUBOV, and NADEZHDINA Christopher recognized as PROVED that being members of an organization called the "Orthodox hierarchy", they, by prior agreement among themselves, as well as by agreement with other persons, were not found by the investigation, in order to prevent, through common efforts, the implementation of the resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and instructions to it, on the confiscation of the groups of believers, church valuables in use into a special fund of the Pomgol Central Committee to save the starving and to seed their fields, as well as to preserve these values in actual use and management clergy, they during the month of March 1922 in the mountains. Moscow, deliberately and deliberately: 1) called on the population and [12] * subordinates [12]* them the clergy to massively oppose the aforementioned order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and to non-fulfillment [13]* responsibilities assigned to them by the same order; 2) openly handed over to the clergy of the Moscow diocese subordinate to them for reading from the ambo and further disseminating among the population a proclamation indicating that church jewels are inviolable and not subject to seizure, that any encroachment on them is sacrilege; and in relation to NADEZHDIN - it is that with the same purpose and in direct violation of § b of the resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of June 13, 1921, March 4 of this year. in the mountains. Moscow, in the Church of John the Warrior, he openly delivered a sermon of a non-religious nature, with the help of active resistance and to the implementation of the above resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, especially noting that this resolution on the confiscation of church valuables for the needs of the hungry is the Judgment of God,

2) [14] * Charge brought against the same DOBROLYUBOV, ZABAVIN, ORLOV, FRYAZINOV, KRYUCHKOV, ROZANOV, SOCOLOV Viktor, KEDROV, LEPEKHIN, VISHNYAKOV, NIKOLSKY, MIKHAILOVSKOV, FIRYAZINOV, MIKHAILOVSKOV, against ROZANOV Viktor, KEDROV Viktor, VISHNYAKOV, NIKOLSKY, NADEZHDIN Viktor, EFIMOV,

CHERNYSHEV and MOTYLEV recognize as PROVED that, having previously agreed with each other and with the accused listed in paragraph 1, for the same purpose, then they took personal participation in propaganda, in agitation among believers or in churches entrusted to them, or at parish meetings, calling for a massive and open [15]* opposition to the aforementioned order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and non-fulfillment of them by submitting all kinds of statements and protests, which were drawn up with their participation and leadership, as a result of which, in the actual seizure, repeated excesses occurred, that is, in counter-revolutionary activities; in relation to LEPEKHIN and KRYUCHKOV, consider it PROVED that, having previously agreed between themselves and the accused listed in paragraph 1, with the same purpose, at the same time, took personal part in propaganda and agitation among believers, and open opposition to the aforementioned order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and in relation to Mikhailovsky that he took part in propaganda among believers.

3) The accusation brought against the same MIKHAILOVSKY and ZERTSALOV under item 3 shall be considered PROVED in full [16] * in relation to ZERTSALOV, and considered unproven in relation to MIKHAILOVSKY.

4) The accusation brought against the same MIKHAILOVSKY and ZERTSALOV under item 4 shall be considered not proven.

5) The accusation brought against Sokolov to Vasily is considered as PROVED in full.

6) The charges brought by Pshenichnikova, Bryzgalov, Asaph, rough, BASHKAREVU Vladimir, BASHKAREVU Alexander Novikov, Telegin, TALAGAEVU, Petrova, Brusilov, Ivanovo, Jurgenson, ions, Chernenko, Belov, Golubeva, Tsirkin, BARKUNOVOY, Solomin, Tikhomirov, BARANTSOV, PAVLOV, KUZNETSOV, PTUSHKIN, SHOSTI, Rokhanov and VORONIN and GUBITSYN in relation to TELEGIN, BRUSILOVA, TIKHOMIROV and ROKHANOV, recognize as PROVED in full; in

relation to BARKU H0B [0] Y, BASHKAREV Vladimir, BASHKAREV Alexander, NOVIKOV, TALAGAEV, PETROV, IVANOV, YURGENSON, IONOV, CHERNENKO, SOLOMIN, BARANTSEV, PTUSHKIN and GUBITSYN in the fact that under the influence of the clergy, under the influence of , mentioned above, on the days of the seizure of church values from Moscow churches and monasteries, during the month of March, took part in public gatherings, who, acting with the combined forces of the participants, due to motives arising from hostility to the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, aroused the population to resist the persons who carried out the seizure; with regard to Bryzgalov and Asafov, recognize as PROVED that they aroused the population to resist the persons who carried out the seizure; against PSHENICHNIKOV, CHERNOV, BELOV, GOLUBEV, TSIRKIN, KUZNETSOV, PAVLOV, SHOSTI and VORONTSOV[17] * considered not proven.

Taking into account that all the accused, in respect of whom counter-revolutionary activity has been proven, took advantage of the most difficult moment in the life of the people, when millions of peasants are dying of hunger, that the accused ZAOZERSKY, DOBROLYUBOV, NADEZHDIN Christopher, VISHNYAKOV, ORLOV, FRYAZINOV, VASILY SOKOLOGOV, TELELE , BRUSILOVA, TIKHOMIROV, Rokhanov not only did not bring repentance for the crimes they had committed, but, on the contrary, partly shifted responsibility on to higher-ranking members of the Orthodox hierarchy, referring to the discipline that existed between them, which they supposedly could not disobey, partly hiding political goals, like "Scribes and Pharisees", justified their resistance in helping the hungry, through the realization of church values on bread, a lie about God and the laws allegedly established by him,prohibiting the donation of church items not only for works of mercy in general, but even for saving the lives of those dying of hunger, despite the fact that the forensic examination invited to the court, from the group of Christian believers categorically recognized such withdrawal as quite possible and in line with Christian

teaching, that in this way they discovered the greatest criminality of their will, - THE TRIBUNAL SAID:

Zaozersk Alexander Nikolaevich, 42 years old, Dobrolyubova Alexander Fedorovich, the 56 [18] * years Nadezhdin Christopher Alekseevich, 56 years old, Vishnjakova Vasily Pavlovich, 56 years old, eagles Anatoly Petrovich, 43 years old, Fryazinova Sergei Ivanovich , 42 years old, Sokolova Vasily Ivanovich, 46 years old, TELEGINA Makariya Nikolaevich, 46 years old, BRUSILOVA Varvara Ivanovna, 22 years old, TIKHOMIROV Sergei Fedorovich, 57 years old, Rokhanov Mikhail Nikolaevich, 43 years old , - SUBJECT TO THE HIGHEST PUNISHMENT - SHOOT.

ROSANOV Sergei Gavrilovich, 62 years old, POSPELOV Nikolay Alexandrovich, 46 years old, KEDROV Viktor Ivanovich, 61 years old, KRYUCHKOV Dmitry Ivanovich, 45 years old, NADEZHDINA Viktor Alexandrovich, 46 years old, and Lepekhin Pavel Vasilievich, 41 years old, TO BE IMMEDIATED IN A DETENTION HOUSE FOR FIVE (5) YEARS EACH.

ZABAVINA Boris Ivanovich, 52 years old, BASHKAREVA Vladimir Alexandrovich, 20 years old, BASHKAREVA Alexander Alexandrovich, 22 years old, ZERTSALOV Sergey Vasilyevich, 66 years old, BARKUNOV Ekaterina Mikhailovna, 18 years old, JURGENSON A Petra Borisovich, 18 years old, Kirill Mikhailovich ASAFOV, 26 years old, Evgeny Nikolaevich EFIMOVA, 48 years old, Stepan Petrovich CHERNYSHEVA, 60 years old, Nikolai Ivanovich MOTYLEV, 36 years old, Petr Maksimovich Novikov, 36 years old, Nikolai Yakovlevich CHERNENKO, 54 years old, and Nikolai Alexandrovich Bryzgalov, 36 years old, - TO BE IMMEDIATED IN THE HOUSE OF DETENTION OF FREEDOM FOR A PERIOD OF THREE (3) YEARS EACH.

NIKOLSKY Petr Petrovich, 30 years old, Sokolov Viktor Ivanovich, 48 years old, TALAGAEV Mikhail Frolovich, 44 years old, PETROV Mikhail Petrovich, 43 years old, Ivanov Ivan Sergeevich, 32 years old, IONOVA Stepan Romanovich, 34 -x years old, Andrey Ivanovich PTUSHKINA, 42 years old, Sergei Alekseevich

BARANTSEV, 19 years old, Mikhail Yakovlevich SOLOMIN, 33 years old, and Semyon Pavlovich GUBITSYN, 36 years old, - TO BE IMMEDIATED IN A HOUSE WITHOUT FREEDOM ONE (1) YEAR EACH.

MIKHAILOVSKY Nikolai Mikhailovich, 56 years old, taking into account that he took all precautions, that he went out several times and calmed the crowd, and also did not read out the last words calling for resistance to the appeal of the higher hierarchy - DO NOT PUNISH AND FROM - UNDER THE GUARDS, RELEASE.

PSHENICHNIKOVA Sergey Nikolaevich, 58 years old, Dmitry Timofeevich CHERNOVA, 46 years old, Yakov Fedoseevich BELOVA, 54 years old, Andrey Egorovich GOLUBEVA, 60 years old, Andrian Ksenofontovich TSIRKIN, 57 years old, Tikhon KUZNETSOV 45 -years old, Kirill Vasilyevich PAVLOV, 29 years old, Andrei Mikhailovich SHOSTI, 53 years old, and Stepan Nikitich Voronin, 56 years old, - TO BE CONSIDERED JUSTIFIED BY COURT and RELEASE FROM GUARD.

Convicted ROSANOV, 62 years old, KEDROV, 61 years old, ZERTSALOV, 66 years old, and Chernyshev 60 years old, in view of their advanced age - the punishment is CONSIDERED CONDITIONALLY and RELEASE FROM GUARD.

All convicts have confiscated items and money as income of the Republic.

However, the Tribunal, taking into account the value of lies and deception on the part of the organization called "the Orthodox hierarchy," to which they belong convicted with [19] * themselves servants of God, and, hypocritically Dropped her population slogan "Soviet Power commits a sacrilege," and then, that the majority of the members of this organization, which has its cells throughout Russia, as well as the main leaders of the investigating authorities have not yet been found, - DECIDED: to draw the attention of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to the established true intentions of this organization and the materials of the judicial investigation confirming them, and to ask him, in order to stop the

distribution her criminal designs, which have more than once led, in particular, citizens belonging to the communities of believing Christians.

Equally draw the attention of the NCJ that despite the fact that the decree on the separation of church and state allowed for the existence of church and religious societies, which are subject to general provisions on societies and unions, that the internal life of religious associations is regulated by: 6 decree, paragraphs 2 and 8 instructions and art. Art. 3, 5 and 13 contracts [10], and therefore such associations are not entitled to the allocation of bodies with legal and political rights, that no religious organization has any right to dispose of any other religious organization or society against their will and, having in mind the existence of an independent church organizations headed by the supreme patriarchal administration, which was established in the Judicial Session, the appropriation of the rights of legal, administrative and economic functions and establishes the illegality of the existence of an organization called the Orthodox hierarchy, especially since the activities of this organization also pursue political goals by skillfully hiding them with its appearance as a religious organization ...

P. P. Chairman (M. BEK), members: GUSEV and DUBROVIN.

- L, 26-30ob. A typewritten copy of that time, certified by the Secretary of the Judicial Department of the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal. Above L. 26 stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 7, item 13 of May 18, 1922 (No. 24-25). Here is the stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b).

- CA FSB. Special archive, d. 1780, v. 2, fol. 2-11. Typewritten copy, certified on May 9, 1922 by EA Tuchkov, head of the VI Department of the GPU's Secret Department. On l. 11 at the bottom with his own scribble: "(Dec [ret] of January 23, 1918 on the separation [of] Tser [kvi] from the State])."

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *So in the text, in document number P-94* Apolonia.

[2] * *Imprinted above the line instead of the hammered* Gnezdnikovskaya.

[3] * *So everywhere in the document;* Alexandrovich *follows* .

[4] * *So in the text, in the final formula of the verdict and No. P-94* Fedoseevich.

[5] * *In the text of* SAMOLIN, *corrected according to the following references in the verdict and No. P-94.*

[6] * *Further packed with* church valuables.

[7] * *So in the document; it follows, apparently, the* impossibility.

[8] * *Fixed in document* BARDUNOV.

[9] * *The names of* ZAITSEV *and* MAKSIMOV were *further dropped from the verdict and it is not known whether they were accused or acquitted.*

[10] * *Corrected in the document* BASHKIROV.

[11] * *Fixed, in the document* BASHKIROV.

[12] * *Fixed by hand instead of previously typed* to submission.

[13] * Not *assigned above line.*

[14] * *Corrected, in the document erroneously 3.*

[15] * *Then one word is scored.*

[16] * *Further erroneously printed and.*

[17] * *So in the document,* VORONINA *follows* .

[18] * *So in the document; at the beginning of the verdict it is stated that A. F. Dobrolyubov is 58 years old.*

[19] * *So in the document; it follows, apparently,* naming.

[4] The verdict was announced in Izvestia already on May 9, 1922.

[5] Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee see No. P-9, for instructions see No. P-14.

[6] The text of Section 6 of the Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of June 13, 1921 reads:

"The preaching of sermons, since they are an integral part of the worship of this cult, is allowed under the indispensable condition, however, that the content of the sermon is exclusively religious in nature."

- Revolution and Church. 1922. No. 1-3. S. 52-53.

[7] See about this No. P-19.

[8] See comm. 6 to d. 24. At the end of the paragraph - a quote from Ps. 136, 9.

[nine] In the entire text of the verdict of the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal, this is the only mention of the name of Korovkin. It is not found anywhere else in the text. Apparently, this name was included in the sentence from the preliminary list of persons accused of resisting the confiscation of church valuables in Moscow (see No. P-94). In this list, compiled by the representative of the VI branch of the Secret Department of the Moscow City Department of the GPU M.M.Shmelev, under the 34th number is Korovkin Vasily Harlipovich. Moreover, the order of listing the names, starting from the 28th number (Bardunova Ekaterina Mikhailovna) and up to the 40th number (Maksimov Ivan Egorovich), completely coincides with the order of listing the names in paragraph six of the sentence (from Bardunova to Maksimov). As seen, When a block of these surnames corresponded in a block, the clerk (secretary of the judicial department of the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal?) not only carefully repeated the mistakes in spelling of individual surnames made by M.M.Shmelev when Bardunova appeared instead of Barkunova, but also mistakenly entered the name of Korovkin. See also footnote “and” on p. 206.

[10] The text of § 6 of the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars on the separation of church from state and school from church of January 23, 1918 reads:

“No one can, referring to their religious beliefs, evade the execution of their civic duties.

Exceptions from this provision, under the condition of replacing one civil obligation with another, are allowed in each individual case by decision of the people's court. "

- SU. 1918. No. 18. S. 272-273; Church and state under the laws of the RSFSR. A collection of legalizations and orders with explanations of the V department of the NCJ. M., 1923.S. 5.

The text of § 2 of the NCJ Instruction on the procedure for enforcing the decree on the separation of church from state and school from church of August 24, 1918 reads:

“All specified in Art. 1 societies are deprived, according to the decree "On the separation of church from state and school from church", the rights of a legal entity.

Individual members of these societies are allowed to arrange only for the acquisition of property for religious purposes and for the satisfaction of other religious needs. "

The text of § 8 of the same instruction reads:

“Those who have accepted the property for use undertake:

I) to preserve and protect it, as a state of the people entrusted to them,

II) repair the said property and the costs associated with the possession of the property, such as: heating, insurance, security, payment of debts, local fees, etc.,

Iii) use this property exclusively for the satisfaction of religious needs,

IV) reimburse, upon delivery, all losses during the use of it, being responsible for the integrity and safety of the property entrusted to them jointly and severally (by mutual guarantee),

V) to have an inventory list of all liturgical property, in which to enter all newly received (by donations, transfers from other churches, etc.) objects of religious worship that do not represent the private property of individual citizens,

Vi) to admit without hindrance during off-duty hours the persons authorized by the Council of Workers 'and Peasants' Deputies to periodically inspect and inspect property and

VII) if the Council of Workers 'and Peasants' Deputies detects abuse and waste, immediately hand over the property to the Council of Workers 'and Peasants' Deputies at its first request. All these conditions are included in the agreement concluded by a group of the above citizens with the local Council of Workers 'and Peasants' Deputies (Appendix No. 1) ".

- SU. 1918. No. 62. S. 757-763.

The text of Art. 3 of the Agreement (Appendix No. 1 to the Instruction of the NCJ of August 24, 1918) reads:

"We undertake to take all measures to ensure that the property handed over to us is not used for purposes inconsistent with Art. 1 and 2 of this agreement.

In particular, we undertake not to allow in the places where we have taken charge of the liturgical premises:

a) political meetings of a direction hostile to Soviet power,

b) distribution or sale of books, brochures, leaflets and messages directed against the Soviet government or its representatives,

c) delivering sermons and speeches hostile to the Soviet government or its individual representatives and

d) making alarm bells to summon the population in order to incite it against the Soviet government, in view of which we undertake to obey all orders of the local Council of Workers 'and Peasants' Deputies regarding the use of bell towers.

The text of Art. 5 of the same treaty states:

"We undertake to have an inventory of all liturgical property, [into] which must be entered by all newly received (by donations, transfers from other churches, etc.) religious items that do not represent the private property of individual citizens."

The text of Art. 13 of the same treaty states:

“None of us, and we all together have no right to refuse any of the citizens belonging to our religion and not defamed by the court, to sign this agreement later this day and take part in the management of the property referred to in this agreement on a general basis. with all those who signed it. "

- Ibid. S. 764-765.

JV Stalin's note to members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on voting by poll to approve the death sentence in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers [May 8, 1922]

No. 24-7

HURRY. SECRET.

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO

A Moscow court sentenced 11 people to death, most of them are priests: (8 priests, 1 wood splitter, agitator, butcher shop). Kamenev proposes to limit ourselves to the execution of two priests.

I ask you to vote "for" or "against" Comrade Kamenev's proposal. I personally vote against the cancellation of the court decision.

SECRETARY OF THE CC. Stalin

- L. 9. Typewritten copy of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). A stamp confirming that the document belongs to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 6, item 18 of May 11, 1922 (No. 24-12). A handwritten litter about the same with the date "6 / V-22". Stamp of the Secret Archive of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number. Date of the document by the date of the survey (No. 24-12).

- L. 8. Typewritten copy of the later time from the copy. Made simultaneously with L. 7 (No. 24-12). Above, there is a typewritten note on the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 6, item 18 with the date “6.V. 22 g. " (No. 24-12). Removed the formula "t." (comrade) before Kamenev's surname in the last sentence.

Record of the results of voting in the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) at the suggestion of LB Kamenev to abolish the death sentence in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers [May 8, 1922]

No. 24-8

VOTING RESULTS:

T. LENIN	- against cancellation
Comrade TROTSKY -	""
T. STALIN -	""
t. ZINOVIEV [11]	""
T. TOMSKY -	- for the proposal of Comrade Kamenev
T. RYKOV - for	proposal of Comrade Kamen [e] va

- L. 9. Typewritten copy of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). A stamp confirming that the document belongs to the office work of the Politburo meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), protocol Mb 6, clause 18 of May 11, 1922 (No. 24-12). Dating as well as No. 24-7.

- L. 8. Another copy of the record - a later typewritten copy from the copy. Made simultaneously with fol. 7 (No. 24-12). Opposite the names of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Tomsky, Rykov, Kamenev there is no "t." *(comrade).*

Notes and Comments:

[11] Draft minutes No. 6 of the Politburo meeting of May 11, 1922 (APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 275, l. 26) contains a note by G. Ye. Zinoviev on the letterhead of the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International with the date " 9.V.22 ". This note is a response to JV Stalin's proposal to approve the death sentence in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers through a poll vote (No. 24-7, No. 24-8). G. Ye. Zinoviev voted as follows: "In the Politburo. If it is permissible to cast a vote in absence, then in the case of the priests I vote for the proposal of Kamenev (two). " Above is a stamp about

the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 6, item 18 with a handwritten date "8.V.22".

Cipher telegram from the secretary of the Central Bank of the Communist Party of Belarus V.G. Knorin to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a request for instructions on the trial of Catholic Polish priests in Belarus. May 9, 1922

No. 24-9 [12]

Received for decryption 10 / V 1922 at 1 hour.

VERY SECRET.

ON PERFORMANCE SUBMIT TO THE SECRET ARCHIVE

From Minsk

MOSCOW Central Committee of the RCP

9 / 5-22 years, the Central Bank decided to transfer the case of Polish priests - who opposed the seizure of valuables to the court of the Revolutionary Tribunal by proceedings in Polish. The court will be appointed on the twentieth of May. Conducted a wide campaign and excited all the Polish population, have adopted by the Assembly with a predominance of women delegates believers [1] * resolution on the need to bring to justice the priests. The process will be of tremendous importance not only [in] Belarus, but [2] * and [2] * will also respond abroad.

In view of this, I ask [3] * to urgently report the opinion of the Central Committee of the RCP, as well as indicate to what measures the court should proceed, in view of the special position of the Catholic clergy and in view of the fact that the local Polish forces of the process, when there are many people and church arguments on the side of the enemy, we cannot carry out ... Send Bobinsky and Leshchinsky though, if Bobinsky is not there, then Barvinsky. We are awaiting your telegram [3] * on this matter . No. 15 / Sh

SECRETARY TSEBE PBC KNORIN

- L. 12. Typewritten original on the form of the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). In the lower right corner there is a pencil resolution by L. D. Trotsky (reply to JV Stalin's note, see No. 24-

10): "10 / V. Sentenced to the highest measure - exchange for Polish communists. Trotsky. " *The formula for secrecy and the transfer to the archive with a stamp.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Further* acceptance was *repeated by mistake* .

[2] * *Inscribed above the line.*

[3] * *The text is underlined in pencil, apparently by L. D. Trotsky.*

[12]Cipher telegram No. 15 / Sh with a request for the opinion of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the trial of the "Polish priests", sent by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belarus V.G. Knorin on May 9, 1922, was received in Moscow on May 10 at 1 am (No. 24 -nine). After the decryption at 9 hours 50 minutes in the morning, it went to JV Stalin, who urgently discussed its content with FE Dzerzhinsky and LD Trotsky (No. 24-10) to make a decision. VG Knorin's answer was given on the same May 10 by a cipher telegram with the outgoing number 2524 / III (the text of the document is missing in the file) (see the note on the copy of l. 10 No. 24-10). Another cipher telegram No. 16 / Sh (the text of the document is also missing from the file) comes from Minsk to the Central Committee of the RCP (b). On May 15, 1922, the Central Committee of the RCP (b) received a note from the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) signed by Secretary S. Geltman with a number of proposals for the Central Bank of the Communist Party of Belarus (No. 24-21), which are communicated by cipher telegram with outgoing number 2684 / III to VG Knorin "or his deputy" (No. 24-23). It is known that cipher telegram No. 2686 / III (see the note on the document in the note to No. 24-22) was dated May 16 and sent in response to cipher telegram No. 17 / III from Minsk dated May 15, which was received in Moscow on May 16 at 8 hours of the morning (No. 24-22). Judging by the content of this document, it was a response to the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the outgoing number 2684 / III, therefore it can be assumed that the date of sending from Moscow and receiving in Minsk cipher telegram № 2684 / III (№ 24-

23) is May 15 1922 g. which was received in Moscow on May 16 at 8 am (No. 24-22). Judging by the content of this document, it was a response to the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the outgoing number 2684 / Ш, therefore it can be assumed that the date of sending from Moscow and receiving in Minsk cipher telegram № 2684 / Ш (№ 24-23) is May 15 1922 g. which was received in Moscow on May 16 at 8 am (No. 24-22). Judging by the content of this document, it was a response to the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the outgoing number 2684 / Ш, so it can be assumed that the date of sending from Moscow and receiving in Minsk cipher telegram № 2684 / Ш (№ 24-23) is May 15 1922 g.

Signed cipher telegram No. 17 / Sh (No. 24-22) from Minsk "deputy" V. G. Knorin, Secretary of the Central Bank of the Communist Party of Belarus V. A. Bogutsky, as required by the addressee of the cipher telegram from the Kremlin No. 2684 / Sh (No. 24-23) ... Having received the Belarusian decrypted telegram No. 17 / Ш (No. 24-22) after 10 am on May 16, JV Stalin, based on the information provided in it, writes a note to S. Geltman, Secretary of the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (6). At the same time, apparently, cipher telegram No. 2686 / Sh is leaving Moscow with a request to repeat cipher telegram No. 17 / Sh due to the distortion of the name of the one whose presence would be desirable at the trial in Minsk, as well as a member of the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) Leshchinsky (the text of the document is missing in the case) (see the note on the document in the note to No. 24-22). Having found out by phone at 11 hours 40 minutes (or 12 hours 40 minutes, According to the original version of the note about the time) the contents of the note of I. V. Stalin, S. Geltman said that in two days the representatives proposed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) would leave for Minsk (No. 24-24). It is possible that JV Stalin decided that if SS Pestkovsky went with Yu. M. Leshchinsky to Minsk in two days, then it would not be necessary to demand an undeciphered surname from Minsk. But the order given at 13 o'clock "not to transmit the note by direct wire to Minsk, comrade. Knorin "was not executed, because at 14:45 V.

G. Knorin's deputy (V. A. Bogutskiy?) Personally accepted the note and gave an answer (see notes to No. 24-22, 24-24). If we assume that I.V. Stalin's note, transmitted over a direct wire before 13:00, duplicated the cipher telegram No. 2686 / III sent earlier to Minsk for a faster decision-making in Moscow, then the answer, received via a direct wire, was later also duplicated by cipher telegram No. 18 / III signed by V. A. Bogutsky, indicating the name of the person desirable to come to the trial. By the way, it appears that this surname was again incorrectly decoded (see note 22 to d. 24). Unfortunately, neither the materials of the thematic cases, nor the materials of the draft minutes of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), it is impossible to more definitely find out what documents were meant in the report of the responsible officer on duty at the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) Dolgov I.V. Stalin on May 16 1922 g.

It is impossible to exclude other variants of the sequence of the exchange of documents between Moscow and Minsk in connection with the trial of Polish Catholic priests.

I. V. Stalin's note to L. D. Trotsky about the telegram of the secretary of the Central Bank of the Communist Party of Belarus V. G. Knorin regarding the trial of Catholic Polish priests in Belarus. May 10, 1922

No. 24-10 [12]

URGENTLY

T. Trotsky!

What directive should be given, in your opinion, in response to the attached tel [egra] mmu? T. Dzerzhinsky mainly for attraction, specifying, however, that capital punishment is dangerous .

I. Stalin

- L. 11. Handwritten original on the letterhead of the secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) I. V. Stalin, autograph. In the upper left corner by the hand of JV Stalin's litter: "To the Archive Pol [it] B [yuro]. Stalin ". *The date, month, and the last digit of the year of the date are written in the form by hand. The formula of urgency by the hand of I. V. Stalin.*

- L. 10. Typewritten copy of the later period. Below is a handwritten note: "Comrade Knorin's answer to No. 15 / III was given on May 10, 1922 by cipher telegram No. 2524 / III". *Instead of* "directive" , "directive" is *printed* .

Notes and Comments:

[12]Cipher telegram No. 15 / Sh with a request for the opinion of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the trial of the "Polish priests", sent by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belarus V.G. Knorin on May 9, 1922, was received in Moscow on May 10 at 1 am (No. 24 -nine). After the decryption at 9 hours 50 minutes in the morning, it went to JV Stalin, who urgently discussed its content with FE Dzerzhinsky and LD Trotsky (No. 24-10) to make a decision. VG Knorin's answer was given on the same May 10 by a cipher telegram with the outgoing number 2524 / III (the text of the document is missing in the file) (see the note on the

copy of l. 10 No. 24-10). Another cipher telegram No. 16 / Sh (the text of the document is also missing from the file) comes from Minsk to the Central Committee of the RCP (b). On May 15, 1922, the Central Committee of the RCP (b) received a note from the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) signed by Secretary S. Geltman with a number of proposals for the Central Bank of the Communist Party of Belarus (No. 24-21), which are communicated by cipher telegram with outgoing number 2684 / III to VG Knorin "or his deputy" (No. 24-23). It is known that cipher telegram No. 2686 / III (see the note on the document in the note to No. 24-22) was dated May 16 and sent in response to cipher telegram No. 17 / III from Minsk dated May 15, which was received in Moscow on May 16 at 8 hours of the morning (No. 24-22). Judging by the content of this document, it was a response to the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the outgoing number 2684 / III, therefore it can be assumed that the date of sending from Moscow and receiving in Minsk cipher telegram № 2684 / III (№ 24-23) is May 15 1922 g. which was received in Moscow on May 16 at 8 am (No. 24-22). Judging by the content of this document, it was a response to the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the outgoing number 2684 / III, therefore it can be assumed that the date of sending from Moscow and receiving in Minsk cipher telegram № 2684 / III (№ 24-23) is May 15 1922 g. which was received in Moscow on May 16 at 8 am (No. 24-22). Judging by the content of this document, it was a response to the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the outgoing number 2684 / III, therefore it can be assumed that the date of sending from Moscow and receiving in Minsk cipher telegram № 2684 / III (№ 24-23) is May 15 1922 g.

Signed cipher telegram No. 17 / Sh (No. 24-22) from Minsk "deputy" V. G. Knorin, Secretary of the Central Bank of the Communist Party of Belarus V. A. Bogutsky, as required by the addressee of the cipher telegram from the Kremlin No. 2684 / Sh (No. 24-23) ... Having received the Belarusian decrypted telegram No. 17 / III (No. 24-22) after 10 am on May 16, JV Stalin, based on the information provided in it, writes a note to S. Geltman, Secretary of the Polish Bureau of

the Central Committee of the RCP (6). At the same time, apparently, cipher telegram No. 2686 / Sh is leaving Moscow with a request to repeat cipher telegram No. 17 / Sh due to the distortion of the name of the one whose presence would be desirable at the trial in Minsk, as well as a member of the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) Leshchinsky (the text of the document is missing in the case) (see the note on the document in the note to No. 24-22). Having found out by phone at 11 hours 40 minutes (or 12 hours 40 minutes, According to the original version of the note about the time) the contents of the note of I. V. Stalin, S. Geltman said that in two days the representatives proposed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) would leave for Minsk (No. 24-24). It is possible that JV Stalin decided that if SS Pestkovsky went with Yu. M. Leshchinsky to Minsk in two days, then it would not be necessary to demand an undeciphered surname from Minsk. But the order given at 13 o'clock "not to transmit the note by direct wire to Minsk, comrade. Knorin "was not executed, because at 14:45 V. G. Knorin's deputy (V. A. Bogutskiy?) Personally accepted the note and gave an answer (see notes to No. 24-22, 24-24). If we assume that I.V. Stalin's note, transmitted over a direct wire before 13:00, duplicated the cipher telegram No. 2686 / III sent earlier to Minsk for a faster decision-making in Moscow, then the answer, received via a direct wire, was later also duplicated by cipher telegram No. 18 / III signed by V. A. Bogutsky, indicating the name of the person desirable to come to the trial. By the way, it appears that this surname was again incorrectly decoded (see note 22 to d. 24). Unfortunately, neither the materials of the thematic cases, nor the materials of the draft minutes of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), it is impossible to more definitely find out what documents were meant in the report of the responsible officer on duty at the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) Dolgov I.V. Stalin on May 16 1922 g.

It is impossible to exclude other variants of the sequence of the exchange of documents between Moscow and Minsk in connection with the trial of Polish Catholic priests.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the death sentence in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 6, paragraph 14 of May 11, 1922

No. 24-11

STRICTLY SECRET

14. - About the Moscow priest x.

(Suggestion] Comrade Kamenev).

Accept the following proposal comrade. Trotsky [13] :

a) Suspend the execution of the sentence.

b) Instruct Comrade Trotsky by the evening of the 12th p. d. orientate and submit a written proposal to the Politburo [14] .

c) Instruct com. Kalinin and Smidovich to talk with Comrade Trotsky about Antonin's proposal forwarded to Comrade Kalinin [15] .

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 14. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s. Under the text there are two handwritten notes: the first is "Trotsky's proposal in the [innocent] protocol" *and below the second, referring to the resolution of the Politburo, protocol No.* 7, *item 13 of May 18, 1922 (No. 24-25).*

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.275, l. 18 — rev. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on lined paper (point c in red pencil, rest in black). In the left column, the item number "14" has been *changed from* "13", *in the right column,* "13" *remains . At the bottom left is a record about the mailing:* "To Kamenev, Trotsky, Kalinin, Bek (a)." *For the list of those present, see No. 23-46.*

Notes and Comments:

[13] In the draft minutes of the Politburo meeting (APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 275, l. 19) there is a note by L. D. Trotsky on the official memo of the

Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic with a short formulation of proposals on this item on the agenda of the Politburo meeting: " Into the circular . I propose: a) The verdict not to be canceled b) to suspend the execution c) to instruct me (*hereinafter the illegible word is crossed out.) To* navigate and make a written submission to the P [olit] Bureau ". At the bottom, with his own hand (in an oval in blue pencil), it is written: "The deadline for tomorrow is until the evening," which dates the postscript on May 11, the time of the Politburo meeting. On l. 19 at the top is a handwritten note on the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 6, item 14 of May 11, 1922. On l. 19ob. below is a stamp about the same.

[14] See # 24-13.

[15] Petition of Patriarch Tikhon for pardoning those convicted in the Moscow trial see No. P-123. For Trotsky's use of the urgently involved petitions of the "progressive clergy" about the same see Nos. 12-2, 24-14 - 24-19 and the Preface, p. 43-48.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the proposal of LB Kamenev to abolish the death sentence in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 6, item 18 of May 11, 1922

No. 24-12

STRICTLY SECRET

By a survey of PB members dated May 8, 22

18. On the annulment of the judgment of the Moscow Tribunal in connection with the confiscation of valuables (proposal of Comrade Kamenev).

Approve the decision of the Tribunal.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 7. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.275, l. 25. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract of that time on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b); signature - autograph of I. V. Stalin. Instead of the line "By poll ... from 8.V.22." *the line* "Extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) dated 8 / V-22, No. 6" was *printed . Item number in pencil. For the list of those present, see No. 23-46.*

Note by L. D. Trotsky to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the verdict of the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers. May 12, 1922

No. 24-13

C. SECRET to keep in secret

IN THE POLITBURO OF THE CEC

1. Yesterday at the meeting it became clear that the defenders had filed a cassation appeal and that in such cases there is always a delay of several days, and sometimes even several weeks, if the process took place in the provinces.

2. Yesterday we had a meeting and an assignment was given:

a) make every possible use of the present critical moment to publish an appeal on behalf of the progressive part of the clergy (I hope that tomorrow or at the latest the day after tomorrow such an appeal will appear in print and go to the provinces by radio).

b) in the meantime, divide those sentenced into two groups, both on the basis of the circumstances arising from the case, and on the basis of the responses and petitions of the loyal priests who will sign the appeal. The division into two groups is entrusted to the President of the Tribunal, Beck and Unshlicht.

I hope that tomorrow it will be possible to take stock and propose a final solution.

12 / V 22 g.

L. Trotsky

- L. 17. Typewritten original, signature - facsimile. Below is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number.

The petition of Archpriest A. I. Vvedensky to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for pardoning those sentenced to death in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers. May 12, 1922

No. 24-14

May 12, 1922

Protopriest Alexander Ivanovich Vvedensky, a representative of the progressive Petrograd clergy

In the Central Executive Committee

Statement

I hereby petition for those sentenced to death by Zaozersk . Fryazinov, Sokolov Vas [Elijah], Nadezhdina Khr [isanfe], Orlov . Dobrolyubov, Telegin, Vishnyakov and Brusilova.

I believe that they, as priests, in the future, being pardoned, will not oppose the Soviet regime: after all, the priestly title, correctly understood, is a title that obliges one to love, to truth. I think that the experience they have experienced should change their soul, that in the future their actions will fully correspond to Christian and priestly dignity. Brusilova is a woman, a mother, a widow. The feeling of love for her encourages me to intercede for her.

Archpriest

Alexander Vvedensky

12.V.1922

- L. 19-20. Handwritten pencil script, autograph.

Petition of priest E. Belkov to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for pardoning those sentenced to death in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers. May 12-13, 1922

No. 24-15

In the Central Executive Committee

Evgeny Belkov, the priest of Petrograd

Petition.

Considering the verdict of the Tribunal in a well-known case to be highly just, I consider it my heart's duty to petition for the replacement of the capital punishment - execution by a milder measure of the following persons: Zaozersky, Dobrolyubov, Nadezhdin, Vishnyakov, Orlov, Fryazinov, Sokolov, Telegin and Brusilova.

The first seven of them, as priests, brought up in Byzantism, which stifled all freedom, undoubtedly acted in religious obscuration, the monk Telegin is an undoubtedly dark person, and Brusilova has a baby.

Priest Evgeny Belkov

- L. 21. Handwritten original, autograph. Dating according to No. 24-14 and No. 24-19.

The petition of the archpriests N. Rusanov and S. Ledovsky to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to pardon those sentenced to death in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers. May 12-13, 1922

No. 24-16

In VC [I] K

Priest Nikolai Rusanov and Priest Sergei Ledovsky We earnestly ask [1] * to grant life to the following persons sentenced to be shot: Zaozersky [2] *, Fryazinov, Sokolov [2] *, Nadezhdin, Orlov, Dobrolyubov, Telegin, Vishnyakov, Brusilova. I can fully guarantee that these persons will no longer commit in their lives anything similar to what they were sentenced to the highest punishment for - shooting. I earnestly [4] * ask for mercy to all the above-mentioned persons.

Archpriest of the city of Saratov Nikolai Rusanov, member of the progressive group

A member of the same group, Archpriest Sergius Ledovsky

- L. 23 — rev. Handwritten pencil original, autograph of N. Rusanov and S. Ledovsky (the latter wrote his last name at the beginning of the document and the formula for his signature at the end). Dated as No. 24-15.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Fixed from original* please.

[2] * *Corrected from originally written by* Zaozersky, Fryazev, Sokolov.

[3] * *Repeated twice in the document.*

Petition by psalmist S. Ya. Stadnik to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for pardoning those sentenced to death in the case of Moscow clergy and believers. May 12-13, 1922

No. 24-17

In the Central Executive Committee

Psalm-reader Stefan Stadnik

Declaration

This petition for sentenced to be shot Zer [o] zerskiy, F [r] yazenov, Sokolov, Nadezhdin [,] Orlov [,] Dobrolyubov, Telegin [,] Vishnyakov and Brusilov.

Stefan J. Stadnik

- L. 24. Handwritten original, autograph. Dated as # 24-15.

Petition of priests V.D.Krasnitsky and S.V. Kalinovsky to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for pardoning those sentenced to death in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers. May 12-13, 1922

No. 24-18

To the All-Russian Central Executive Committee:

Chairman, comrade Kalinin

Representatives of groups of progressive clergy

Most humble request

Recognizing the perfect justice of the Tribunal's verdict in the case of 54 accused of opposing the Authority in the confiscation of valuables, we, the undersigned, humbly request that capital punishment be abolished for the following accused -

1) The clergy - the archpriests of Zaozersky, Vishnyakov, Fryazinov, Orlov, Nadezhdin Christoph [ora], Dobrolyubov, Priest Sokolov Vas [Elijah] and the monk Telegin, Makar - undoubtedly guided by the customary duty of obedience to the orders of the Church authorities and who did not even suspect their objections to the patriarch against the appeal he signed.

2) Citizen Brusilova - whose husband was killed at the front by the White Guards and after whom the two-month-old baby will remain an orphan. -

The granting of our requested mercy is undoubtedly, with good feeling and [1] * deep gratitude [1] * - will be accepted by all Orthodox clergy and will serve to strengthen their confidence and disposition in the People's Workers 'and Peasants' Government. -

Representatives of groups of progressive clergy of the Petrograd diocese

Priest Vladimir Krasnitsky

Moscow diocese

Priest Sergiy Kalinovsky

- L. 25 — rev. Handwritten original, autograph of V. D. Krasnitsky and S. V. Kalinovsky (the latter wrote the formula for his signature). On l. 25 stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 7, item 13 of May 18, 1922 (No. 24-25). Here is the stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b). Dated as # 24-15.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Inscribed above the line in the same handwriting.*

The petition of priest I. Borisov to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for pardoning those sentenced to death in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers. May 13, 1922

No. 24-19

In V.Ts. [I.] K.

from the priest I. Borisov

For the sake of world love, I ask you to pardon all those convicted of 54 to four people sentenced to capital punishment.

A priest]. I. Borisov.

May 13, 1922 Moscow

- L. 22. Handwritten original, autograph.

Conclusion of the Chairman of the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal M. Beck, Deputy People's Commissar of Justice P. A. Krasikov, Deputy Chairman of the GPU I. S. Unshlikht on the final list of those to be shot in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers. May 14, 1922

No. 24-20 *

May 14, 1922

CONCLUSION .

With regard to the following persons, it is necessary to come to the conclusion that, due to the circumstances of the case and the nature of their personality, there is no data that could affect the mitigation of the judgment of the Moscow Tribunal:

1. Nadezhdin Khristofor, in addition to directly participating in the development of the plan for the anti-Soviet campaign, together with other deans, definitely and consciously led counter-revolutionary agitation under the religious flag, actively called for resistance, delivered sermons of a brightly monarchical direction, inciting religious fanaticism of the masses and open indignation and bloodshed.

2. Sokolov Vasily, not even being a dean, nevertheless in the most active and conscious way conducted direct counter-revolutionary agitation in the church, using the entire religious apparatus of arguments to instill in the heads of his parishioners the idea that the overthrow and sweeping away of the Workers 'and Peasants' government from the face of the earth - there is a task dictated by God and believers must strive for it.

3. Telegin Makariy, as an active implacable enemy of the Workers 'and Peasants' Government and the entire Soviet system, an ardent monarchist, who definitely sees religion and the church as an instrument for overthrowing the Soviet system and confirmed his intransigence at the trial.

4. Sergei Tikhomirov, an active Black Hundred man, who directly took part in the bloodshed, knocking out the crowd, and beating a Red Army soldier on duty with a stone on the head.

5. Zaozersky Alexander, who both revealed in his activities and at the trial itself the greatest of all consciousness and irreconcilability in relation to the Soviet government, its measures and is the ideologist of the counter-revolutionary position of the clergy.

When excluding the remaining 6 persons from the list of 11 sentenced to capital punishment, the commission was guided solely by considerations of the possibility, with the least damage to the essence of the sentence, fair in relation to all 11, to go as much as possible to meet the request of the progressive clergy.

BEK, KRASIKOV, UNSHLICHT [16] .

14.V.22 g.

- L. 16. Certified typewritten copy made simultaneously with L. 15 (No. 24-25). In the upper right corner there is a typewritten note stating that the document is an appendix to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 7, item 13 of May 18, 1922 (No. 24-25). Below, under the names, reproduced the resolution of L. D. Trotsky: "I join [.] Trotsky."

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.276, l. 29- Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original, signatures - autographs in red ink. Below, under the names of those who signed the resolution, L. D. Trotsky in blue pencil: "I join Trotsky." *Top left of L. D. Trotsky's litter in the same pencil:* "To the Political Bureau." *At the bottom it is printed:* "6 annexes " *- they are not in file 276, apparently, it means documents Nos. 24-14 - 24-19. Below is a stamp about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 7, item 13 of May 18, 1922 (No. 24-25).*

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the GPU, sent on May 14, 1922 from the Secretariat of the Collegium of the GPU, signed by I. S. Unshlikht, to the "Politburo of the Central Committee

of the RCP Comrade Stalin, comrade Trotsky ":" According to Protocol No. 13 Meetings of the Commission on Values dated May 13 this year I am attaching a conclusion on the case of 11 persons sentenced to capital punishment by the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal. " The letter is certified by the round official seal of the GPU. On the letter there are stamps: " Top secret ." " PERSONALLY ". Below is a stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 7, item 13 of May 18, 1922 (No. 24-25). Above is the stamp of the Secret Archive of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b). (L. 18).

sixteenIn the Central Asia FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d.1, l. 130, a preliminary typewritten copy of the "Conclusion" has been preserved with handwritten revisions, reflecting the selection process among 11 people sentenced to death, candidates for execution. Picked up personally by L. D. Trotsky and approved by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), the troika - M. Beck, P. A. Krasikov and I. S. Unshlikht - on May 13, 1922, prepared a slightly different text of the document required by the highest party authority than that , which was presented at the meeting of the Politburo on May 18, 1922. Immediately after the title, a strictly official list of the contents of the document was given: “On the issue of pardoning 11 persons sentenced to capital punishment, c [azhda] n - in the case of the resistance put up by them when implementing the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the confiscation of the church valuables in use by groups of believers to a special fund in the Pomgol Central Committee. Further, a paragraph was typed in capital letters with a discharge of surnames, which, due to the strict and categorical laconicism of the content, could well become a ready-made text of the resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b): ROKHANOV ". Then, in five paragraphs, as in the published document of May 14, 1922, short lists of the acts for which the accused were to be shot were given. These lists were based on the guilty part of the verdict of the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal (No. 24-6), and for each convicted person a kind of clear and specific extract of his "crimes" was made. In the published document (No. 24-20), these paragraphs

were edited, apparently, not without the participation of L. D. Trotsky, with the introduction of generalizing ideological clichés of rhetorical nature. So, in the list of accusations of priest Kh. A. Nadezhdin, instead of the "plan for an anti-Soviet campaign" there were earlier "plans of resistance", there was no phrase at all about "counter-revolutionary agitation under a religious flag" and about the "bright monarchist direction" of sermons. The list of actions of priest V. [A.] Sokolov in the original version did not contain phrases about "counter-revolutionary agitation in the church", about the "religious apparatus of arguments", and instead of "Workers 'and Peasants' Power" the phrase "members of the Commission" was used. The list of "crimes" of Hieromonk Macarius (Telegin) previously lacked such ideological cliches as "the enemy of the Workers 'and Peasants' Government and the entire Soviet system", "an ardent monarchist", "an instrument of overthrowing the Soviet system." In the list of "crimes" of the layman S.F. Tikhomirov's changes affected only his social status. The "merchant" and the "butcher shop" disappeared, and an "active Black Hundred" appeared. The last, fifth, paragraph of the document was originally assigned to the layman M.N.Rokhanov. The necessity and obligation of his execution was motivated as follows: "Rokhanov, according to the social position of the wood-worker, because he, leading the crowd and directing its actions, he himself, more energetically than all others, sprinkled stones on the Red Army men." This paragraph in the document has been repeatedly crossed out by hand and below it in the same ink a fragmentary record, finally determining a priest instead of a layman as a candidate for execution: "Zaozersky - took part in the development ...". The reasons for such preferences of the responsible troika and L. D. Trotsky, who joined it, remained unknown. Maybe, here the notorious "proletarian" origin of MN Rokhanov's woodcutter, in contrast to the priest AN Zaozersky, played a role. Making this cynical substitution, the troika fit into a certain PB "limit" - 5 shootings. According to the statement of the troika itself, "the division into two groups" was carried out exclusively on the principle of "the least damage to the essence of the sentence", "fair

with respect to all 11." And yet - going "as much as possible to meet the petition of the progressive clergy" to pardon those sentenced. It should be emphasized that in all these petitions it was priest A. N. Zaozersky who was named the first candidate for pardon (No. 24-14 - 24-18). According to the statement of the troika itself, "the division into two groups" was carried out exclusively on the principle of "the least damage to the essence of the sentence", "fair with respect to all 11." And yet - going "as much as possible to meet the petition of the progressive clergy" to pardon those sentenced. It should be emphasized that in all these petitions it was priest A. N. Zaozersky who was named the first candidate for pardon (No. 24-14 - 24-18). According to the statement of the troika itself, "the division into two groups" was carried out exclusively on the principle of "least damage to the essence of the sentence", "fair in relation to all 11". And yet - going "as much as possible to meet the petition of the progressive clergy" to pardon those sentenced. It should be emphasized that in all these petitions it was priest A. N. Zaozersky who was named the first candidate for pardon (No. 24-14 - 24-18).

Note from the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the trial of Catholic Polish priests in Belarus. May 15, 1922

No. 24-21 [12]

May 15, 1922

Top secret

In Ts.K. R.K.P.

In view of the fact that Ts.K. R.K.P., based on the proposal of Ts.B. K.P. Belarus [17], it was decided to initiate a trial against Catholic priests in Minsk, arrested for their opposition to the confiscation of valuables from Catholic churches, and the process will be conducted in Polish and comrades from Moscow will be delegated as accusers, among them Comrade LESCHINSKY, a member of the Polburo of the Central Committee RCP.

Polish Bureau Ts.K. R.K.P. [18] considers it necessary to express his opinion on the proposed process and related circumstances and consequences:

1) The behavior of Catholic priests during the confiscation of valuables (Minsk, Gomel, Petrograd, Moscow and a number of other localities), as well as the already held trials against Orthodox priests (Moscow, Shuya) require the most actively resisting Catholic priests to be brought to justice.

The value of the process will be threefold [1] *: a) it can provide factual material for anti-religious propaganda, however, subject to a well-organized process; b) will oppose antagonisms that may arise on religious grounds (the Orthodox are punished, the Catholic are condescending); c) indicate to local authorities that the Catholic Church is not privileged, as is often commented on in connection with the Riga Treaty.

At the same time, however, it should be emphasized:

2) The role of the Catholic religion is largely different from that of the Orthodox (the Catholic religion, perhaps, penetrates deeper into private and public life, it does not know any schisms and sectarianism, is more universal, is associated by the population with the national issue and, most importantly, Until [2] * 1917 it was a suppressed religion, for which thousands of believers suffered.

In view of this, it is not necessary to count on the significance of the process for anti-church propaganda or hope for a split among believers (as is already happening among the Orthodox).

The question is further complicated by the canonical peculiarities of Catholicism, which were already pointed out in his note by the Polish Foreign Minister Skirmunt.

3) The trial, due to the international character of Catholicism, will undoubtedly evoke a response in all Catholic countries (Italy, France and Poland), headed by the Pope and, in all likelihood, will entail diplomatic complications, especially since the process will lead, according to our information, to the need to bring Archbishop Tseplyak to justice (like Tikhon) [19] .

4) Poland, based on the Riga Treaty, will raise issue [20] especially sharply . Here one should point to the note dated April 28, p. in which there is already a protest against the removal of valuables from Catholic churches. To this day, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has not responded, since the People's Commissariat of Justice has not yet given an opinion, since from a legal point of view the arguments of the Polish Government are correct [21] .

Taking the foregoing into account, the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP considers it necessary to indicate that the conduct of the process is expedient only under the following conditions:

1) Bringing the process to its logical end, without stopping before complications that might arise.

2) Parcels to Minsk except for Comrade Leshchinsky, whose role is reduced to revealing the socio-political background of the crime, an

expert on the legal and canonical side of the case. This is all the more necessary, [because] the process will receive wide publicity abroad and the diplomatic speeches of the interested parties will be based - on the legal formulation of the process and that private protection is allowed to participate in the process.

3) Careful preparation of the required material.

In this regard, the term of the process should be postponed for several days.

Secretary of the Polbureau of the Central Committee of the RCP S. Geltman

- L. 13. Typewritten original, signature - autograph. In the upper left corner is the stamp of the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the handwritten inscription "Secretariat. Moscow " *and the date* " 15 / V.1922 ". *Above, handwritten notes: 1)* "Polish Bureau of the Central Committee"; *2)* "Arch [iv] P [olit] 6 [yuro]". *Handwritten incoming number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date* "23 / V-22". In *the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b).*

Notes and Comments:

*1 * Revised by hand from the originally printed* huge.

*2 * Corrected by hand from originally printed* after

[17]The Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belarus - was formed (after the liberation of the Belarusian territories from German intervention and the annulment of the Brest Peace) at the VI North-Western Regional Conference of the RCP (b) on December 30-31, 1918 in Smolensk, which proclaimed itself the I Congress of the CP (b) B. The Congress organizationally formalized the Communist Party of Belarus as an integral part of the RCP (b). In January 1919, at the suggestion of V.I. Lenin, the Central Committee of the RCP (b) decided to unite the Byelorussian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR into one state. Accordingly, the "two component parts of the RCP (b)" - the Communist Parties of Belarus and Lithuania, were subject to

unification, which happened at the unification congress (II Congress of the CP (b) B) on March 4-6, 1919. A single party within the RCP (b) received name: Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Lithuania and Belarus (CP (b) L and B). After the liberation of the Belarusian territories from the Polish intervention and after an unsuccessful attempt to establish Soviet power in Lithuania, the Central Committee of the RCP (b) in September 1920 authorized the division of the CP (b) L and B into two separate parties: KP (b) B and KP (b) L. For the practical guidance of party work in the BSSR, the Central Bureau of the CP (b) B (Central Bank) was established. On March 15-19, 1922, the VI Congress of the CP (b) B was held. The Central Bank as the supreme party organ of the CP (b) B existed until the campaign to "enlarge" the BSSR (May 1923) by the counties of the Vitebsk, Gomel and Smolensk provinces. On February 4, 1924, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) made a decision to create the Provisional Belarusian Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), to which the functions of the Central Bank of the CP (b) B were transferred and entrusted with the implementation of measures to "enlarge" the BSSR. authorized the division of KP (b) L and B into two separate parties: KP (b) B and KP (b) L. For the practical guidance of party work in the BSSR, the Central Bureau of the CP (b) B (Central Bank) was established. On March 15-19, 1922, the VI Congress of the CP (b) B was held. The Central Bank as the supreme party organ of the CP (b) B existed until the campaign to "enlarge" the BSSR (May 1923) by the counties of the Vitebsk, Gomel and Smolensk provinces. On February 4, 1924, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) made a decision to create the Provisional Belarusian Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), to which the functions of the Central Bank of the CP (b) B were transferred and entrusted with the implementation of measures to "enlarge" the BSSR. authorized the division of KP (b) L and B into two separate parties: KP (b) B and KP (b) L. For the practical guidance of party work in the BSSR, the Central Bureau of the CP (b) B (Central Bank) was established. On March 15-19, 1922, the VI Congress of the CP (b) B was held. The Central Bank as the supreme party organ of the CP (b) B existed until

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On May 12-14, 1924, the VIII Congress of the CP (b) B was held, which, instead of the Provisional Belarusian Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), organized the Central Committee of the CP (6) B.

eighteen718 files of the archival fund 63 "Polish Bureau of Agitation and Propaganda under the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks" for 1917-1931 have been preserved in the RCKHIDNI. If we proceed from the normative documents of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), deposited in one of the cases of this fund (RCKHIDNI, f. 63, op. 1, d. 1), then the creation of the Polish Central Bureau under the Central Committee of the RCP (b) instead of the "Polish CEC of Russia "To preserve" Polish communist

groups within Russia in the form of Polish communist sections under the local committees of the R.K.P. " was initiated by the head of the Cheka F.E.Dzerzhinsky on 09.06 1919 at a meeting of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) (§ 5). The top party leadership of Soviet Russia and the Cheka was not satisfied with the decision of the Polish CEC to dissolve Polish groups and to relocate itself "to Ukraine as an overseas representation of the Polish Communist Party" (ibid., Fol. 1a). A little later, June 28, 1919, at a meeting of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), the territorial boundaries of the work of the established Polish Bureau were outlined: only "within Russia", "without conducting foreign work" (ibid., fol. 2-ob.). On July 9, 1919, the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) approved the first personnel (3 people), and on July 25, 1919 - the official name: "Polish Bureau of Propaganda and Agitation under the Central Committee. R.K.P. " (ibid., fol. 3, 4). July 19, 1920, in addition to this Bureau, headed by S. S. Dzerzhinskaya, another one was created: the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), consisting of 5 people, chaired by F. E. Dzerzhinsky. In the fall of 1920, the Polish Bureau of Propaganda and Agitation under the Central Committee of the RCP (b) became the corresponding department of the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). By 1922, the Polish Bureau consisted of 6 people under the chairmanship of Yu. Yu. Markhlevsky and S. Geltman as secretary. It was called upon to determine and coordinate the work of numerous regional, provincial and local Polish departments (local Polburo). The Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) consisted of three departments (agitprop, publishing and accounting), a secret section, a affairs department, a party archive and a library. Meetings were held every week on Thursday in the presence of members of the Bureau, representatives of the Polish Communist Party, the Executive Committee of the Comintern, heads of the Polish sections of the People's Commissariats, etc. The departments were subordinate in their work to the relevant departments of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), main issues "- directly to the Secretariat

of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Among these "special assignments", in addition to informative work ("informational") about the "views, moods and needs" of the Polish population of the RSFSR, The Polish Bureau, together with the VChK-GPU, was called upon to fight “against Polish counter-revolution and espionage,” “recommend employees,” and give “opinions on specific issues”. To help the NKID, the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) had to recommend employees to the "personnel of the mission and various commissions" for Poland, give "opinions on notes and negotiations", as well as "considerations and materials for notes." Moreover, the NKID undertook to send to the Polburo "all materials relating to relations with Poland or directly related to Poland" (RCHIDNI, f. 17, op. 84, d. 168, sheets 1-2, 3, 6-8). See also: ibid., D. 328. give "conclusion on notes and negotiations", as well as - "considerations and materials for notes." Moreover, the NKID undertook to send to the Polburo "all materials relating to relations with Poland or directly related to Poland" (RCHIDNI, f. 17, op. 84, d. 168, sheets 1-2, 3, 6-8). See also: ibid., D. 328. give "conclusion on notes and negotiations", as well as - "considerations and materials for notes." Moreover, the NKID undertook to send to the Polburo "all materials relating to relations with Poland or directly related to Poland" (RCHIDNI, f. 17, op. 84, d. 168, sheets 1-2, 3, 6-8). See also: ibid., D. 328.

[19]Even earlier, on May 12, 1922, PA Krasikov wrote about the “need to bring Archbishop Tseplyak to justice” (GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, file 60, fol. 108-rev.). This was the second order of this kind from the head of the V department of the NCJ; it supplemented the “attitude” No. 202 sent on April 21, 1922. P. A. Krasikov suggested that the employees of the Petrograd Department of Justice “investigate all cases of direct and indirect influence exerted by Mr. Tseplyak on believing Catholics, in order to provoke in the latter resistance to the orders of the Soviet government "And" to take the strictest measures to suppress his further criminal activity. " The above measures should have been applied to Archbishop Ya.G. Tseplyak, as in his actions was seen "a conscious desire to oppose the orders of the Soviet government in order to disrupt the campaign to confiscate

church values." By "actions" PA Krasikov meant a protest sent "to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, in which Mr. Tseplyak" demanded to suspend the "further removal of valuables from Catholic churches" and return "already seized property." The original of this protest dated April 22, 1922, on the letterhead of the Mogilev Roman Catholic Archbishop-Metropolitan, signed by Archbishop Y. G. Tseplyak and for the Secretary of the Archdiocesan Administration - D. A. Ivanov, was preserved in the State Archive of the Russian Federation, f. A-353, op. 6, d. 6, l. 30-31. Other originals of the statements of Archbishop Ya.G. Tseplyak to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee with protests and requests regarding the seizure of church valuables were also deposited there (in particular, dated May 18, 1922 - no. - d. 9, fol. 87-rev.). Moreover, the answer to PA Krasikov's instructions has also survived: a copy of the resolution of the investigator “on the most important cases under the KOPICHKO Gubotust of the Petrograd Soviet” dated May 29, 1922 (file 9, sheet 83-ob.). This Petrograd investigator, “having examined the case for No. 70 on the subject of crime [in] gr. TSEPLYAK in disobeying the orders of the Soviet government ", accused the Catholic archbishop of violating the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the confiscation of church valuables and the desire to disrupt the" confiscation company "itself. Tseplyak's telegram, which he sent to the Yaroslavl priest Rutkovsky, was recognized as part of the crime. The priest was advised not to issue an inventory of the property of the church, since, according to Tsepljak, such requirements were illegal. Investigator Kopichko, on the basis of this, decided “to involve gr. TSEPLYAK, Ioanna to the case as a defendant on charges of the above criminal act. " So that the archbishop did not evade "from the investigation and the trial," he was signed "not to leave the city of Petrograd until his case was examined in the Court." Subsequently, this Petrograd case was transformed into one of the accusatory episodes at the Moscow trial in the case of Ya. G. Tseplyak in March 1923 (see note 12 to file 25).

[20] Article VII of the Peace Treaty between Russia and Ukraine, on the one hand, and Poland, on the other, signed on March 18, 1921 in Riga, read:

"1. Poland grants persons of Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian nationalities in Poland, on the basis of equality of nationalities, all the rights ensuring the free development of culture, language and the performance of religious rites. Mutually Russia and Ukraine provide persons of Polish nationality in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus with all the same rights. [...]

2. Both contracting parties mutually undertake neither directly nor indirectly to interfere in matters concerning the organization and life of the church and religious communities located on the territory of the other party.

3. Churches and religious societies, to which persons of Polish nationality belong in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, have the right, within the limits of internal legislation, to independently organize their internal church life.

The aforementioned churches and religious societies have the right, within the limits of internal legislation, to use and acquire movable and immovable property necessary for the performance of religious rites, as well as the maintenance of the clergy and church institutions.

On the same basis, they have the right to use temples and institutions necessary for the performance of religious rites.

The same rights are enjoyed by persons of Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian nationality in Poland. "

See: SU. 1921. No. 41-42. S. 217-236; USSR foreign policy documents. M., 1959.T. 3.S. 626-627.

[21]Having gained independence as a result of the collapse of the Russian Empire and having defended it in the Soviet-Polish war of 1920, Poland felt itself to be a kind of outpost for the protection of Catholic interests in the Soviet republics. This position was

reinforced by the fact that practically all Catholic clergy in Russia, Belarus and Ukraine were of Polish nationality. To exert diplomatic pressure on the Soviet leadership, the seventh article of the Riga Peace Treaty between Poland, Russia and Ukraine of March 18, 1921 was most often used (see note 20 to d. 24). The campaign to confiscate church values in 1922 was the reason for an intensive exchange of diplomatic notes. The noted Polish note dated April 28, 1922 (according to other sources - April 27, 1922) was only the first of six in time of writing. Following her, the Chargé d'Affaires of Poland to the RSFSR Stefansky sent another one - dated May 30, 1922. Both of these notes denied the legal validity of the decree on the separation of church from state of January 23, 1918 and subsequent religious acts of the Soviet leadership in relation to the Catholic Church. They also spoke about violations of the seventh article of the Riga Treaty. In particular, paragraphs 2 and 3, which proclaimed the non-interference of the parties in the religious affairs of churches and societies located on the territory of the other party (see comm. 20 to file 24). The Polish side argued that the Riga Treaty of 1921 restored the ownership of the Catholic Church to church property in the RSFSR and that the Catholic Church "can be governed exclusively according to the norms of canon law." Cited in a note dated April 28, 1925 and a reference to Art. 16 (p. 3) the Riga agreement "on settlements between Russia and Poland for property and capital belonging to religious societies or intended for the maintenance of churches and clergy." According to the Polish side, the Soviet leadership also violated this article by applying the decree on the seizure of church valuables of February 23, 1923 to the Catholic Church. Poland lodged a protest over the violation by the local commissions for the confiscation of church valuables of the instructions of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the People's Commissariat of Justice on the seizure procedure of February 28, 1922. For example, violations were indicated during the seizure of valuables in a Catholic church in Georgians in Moscow. In a note dated May 30, 1922, protests were expressed against the prosecution of Catholic priests by the Belarusian

authorities in Minsk and against the initiation of a criminal case against Archbishop Ya. G. Tseplyak.

Before answering the notes that had come, the Russian side sent its note dated May 31, 1922 to the Polish mission in Moscow, accusing the chairman of the Polish delegation to the Mixed Conciliation Commission Klim of calling on the Catholic Polish clergy in Belarus to resist the seizure of church valuables.

Later, in a note dated July 22, 1922, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs examined Polish claims about the legality of Soviet normative religious acts, violations of the seventh article of the peace treaty of March 18, 1921, and other above. Using the conclusion of the NCJ staff, the Soviet diplomats unambiguously recognized the Polish notes of April 28 and May 30, 1922, the desire to prove "that persons of Polish nationality of the Catholic religion should enjoy greater privileges in Russia than persons of other religions." In the Soviet note, such an approach to the interpretation of the articles of the peace treaty and acts of Soviet religious legislation was rejected as untenable. Before the Soviet government, it was stated in the diplomatic message, all believers are equal, regardless of their confessional affiliation. Therefore, the internal religious legislation rightfully applies to Catholic churches, their property and the order of religious life. The seventh article of the Riga Agreement does not say anything about the right of ownership, but includes only the concept of “the right to use property”. On the issue of governing the Catholic Church, one should be guided not only by canon law, but also by the norms established by civil authority. Article 16 of the peace treaty has in mind “only those property and capital that are subject to re-evacuation to Poland, that is, belonged to religious societies and churches that are now located (in 1922 - but includes only the concept of "the right to use property." On the question of governing the Catholic Church, one should be guided not only by canonical rights, but also by the norms established by civil authority. Article 16 of the peace treaty has in mind “only those property and capital that are subject to re-evacuation to Poland, that is, belonged to religious societies and

churches that are now located (in 1922 - but includes only the concept of "the right to use property." On the issue of governing the Catholic Church, one should be guided not only by canon law, but also by the norms established by civil authority. Article 16 of the peace treaty has in mind “only those property and capital that are subject to re-evacuation to Poland, that is, belonged to religious societies and churches that are now located (in 1922 -*Comp.)* On the territory of Poland ". Violations of the procedure for the seizure of church valuables by local commissions, according to the Soviet note, must be appealed in a legal way - through the Central Committee of Pomgol at the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The Catholic clergy is prosecuted only because of "illegal methods of interference in the execution of government orders by local authorities" and calls for believers to disobey "state power in Russia."

This was the response of the Soviet side to the claims of the Polish government in connection with the campaign to confiscate church values. At the same time, the NKID accused Poland of violating articles of the Riga Treaty and the Polish Constitution in relation to the Orthodox population (bans on services, closing parishes, expelling Orthodox priests, beating up Orthodox parishioners, destroying churches, etc.). Thus, the Soviet leadership did not disdain in a diplomatic duel with a recent military adversary to defend the interests of the Russian Church, which in their country they subjected it to "persecution and oppression" no less cruel than the Polish government.

Four days before this note was sent from Moscow, on July 18, 1922, another Polish note was drawn up in Warsaw protesting the opening of a shrine with the relics of a Catholic saint in Polotsk, blessed A. Boboli (see note 10 to d. 25). In this act of the Soviet authorities, the Polish government again saw an "unheard of" violation of Art. VII of the Riga Treaty. A response Soviet note verbale was sent to the Polish embassy on August 15, 1922. Based on the acts of the internal legislation of the RSFSR, it explained that the Soviet government in the campaign to uncover the relics of the

saints “is not fighting against the legality of qualifying certain relics in terms of their incorruptibility”, “ but only wants to protect the people from age-old deception and exploitation of their religious feelings by the clergy on the basis of all kinds of "miracles", relics invariably accompanying the cult at all times and among all peoples. " The execution by the local authorities of Polotsk of the "orders of the central government", "the opening of the relics of Andrei Boboli, as the exposure of the age-old deception" was done without violating the seventh article of the peace treaty, "within the limits of domestic legislation." Further in the diplomatic message, as well as in the note of June 22, 1922, the Soviet leadership reproaches the Polish Republic for carrying out incessant persecution and persecution of the Orthodox Church in Poland, contrary to its fundamental laws. Based on the presence in Poland of "religious persecution of the darkest times of the Middle Ages" against the Orthodox Church and its believers, the note of the NKID invites the Polish Embassy in Moscow to continue to pay more attention to the termination of the latter in their country,

See: Izvestia of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. 1922.2 August. (No. 171); Revolution and Church. 1923. No. 1-3. S. 52-57; USSR foreign policy documents. M., 1961.T. 5.S. 521-529, 753.

Cipher telegram from the secretary of the Central Bank of the Communist Party of Belarus V. A. Bogutsky to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to J. V. Stalin on the postponement of the trial of Catholic Polish priests in Belarus. May 15, 1922

No. 24-22 * [12]

May 15, 1922

Received for decryption
16 / V 1922 at 8 o'clock.

HIGHLY SECRET
PERFORMANCE SUBMIT TO SECRET ARCHIVE

From Minsk

MOSCOW Central Committee of the RCP Comrade STALIN.

15 / V-22 years old. We postpone the process for a week. Hurry to leave Leszczynski, preferably also Cherlyunchavich [1] * Tolmarka [22] . No. 17 / III

SECRETARY TSEBE CPB BOGUTSKY

- L. 35. Typewritten original on the form of the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Below is a handwritten footnote made by the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A. M. Nazaretyan to explain the correction of the surname in the text of the document: "Correction, see w [ifro] / t [telegram] No. 18 w from Bogutskago vkh [odody] No. 204 sh ... A. Shazaretyan] " *(see* comment *22 to d. 24). The formula for secrecy and the transfer to the archive with a stamp.*

Notes and Comments:

The case contains a document on the form of a cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), sent on May 16, 1922 from Minsk from the secretary of the Central Bank of the CPB V. A. Bogutsky to the address: "MOSCOW Central Committee of the RCP ZAM-ZAVSHIFRBYURO CHECHULIN" with the text: "On No.

2686 / We inform Cherlyunchavich Polbureau knows him. No. 18 / sh ". Below, by the hand of AS Balagurovskaya litter: “Information: No. 2686 / sh from 16 / V with a request to repeat the cipher telegram No. 17 / sh due to its distortion. A. B [Alagurovskaya] ". At the top of the bar with stamps: 1) "VERY SECRET"; 2) "ON PERFORMANCE, DELIVER TO THE SECRET ARCHIVE". (L. 37).

The file contains a report sent on May 16, 1922 to the secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) I.V. Stalin, signed by the responsible officer of the Code Department of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) Dolgov, with the text: “At 13:00 on May 16, you ordered not to transmit the note by direct wire Minsk comrade KNORIN, but in view of the fact that at this time the messenger of the Minsk Telegraph was already looking for the deputy. Comrade Knorin, and who appeared at the telegraph in person at 14:45. I accepted your note and gave an answer. " (L. 36).

[1] * *Corrected by hand above the line by A. M. Nazaretyan from the original printed to* Cheljesorrelu.

[22] Having received an encrypted telegram from Minsk in Moscow at 8 am on May 16, 1922, two hours later the responsible officer of the Cipher Department of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A.S. literally". Thus, the demands to attend the trial of persons desirable for Minsk could not be fulfilled by the addressee of the telegram, I. V. Stalin. A telegram was urgently sent to the Belarusian capital "with a request to repeat the cipher telegram No. 17 / III due to its distortion." At 11:30 pm on May 16, 1922, in response to a Moscow request, a new encrypted telegram came from Minsk addressed to the deputy head of the Cipher Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) S.F. note to No. 24-22).

After 30 minutes, at 24 hours, the responsible officer of the Code Department of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), who received it, MP Sharikov, deciphered the "Chelzhesorrela Tolmark" previously designated by his colleague AS Balagurovskaya as "Chljunchavich knows him Polbyuro." It is possible that this time the surname was not completely deciphered. As it was possible to

establish, in Moscow in the first half of the 1920s. in the top leadership of the country two people worked with the surname not "Cherlyunchavich", but "Cherlyunchakevich". In particular, N.A. Cherlyunchakevich worked in the People's Commissariat of Justice: a member of the collegium of the People's Commissariat, head of the department of judicial organization and judicial supervision (organizational and instructor), Deputy People's Commissar of Justice (see: GARF, f. 1235, op. 95, d. 95, l. 262; Izvestiya VTSIK. 1922. March 5 (No. 52) and May 10 (No. 102)). M.S.Cherlyunchakevich, head of the Presidium secretariat, worked in the Presidium of the USSR Central Executive Committee (see: Links. M., 1992. Issue. 2.P. 440, 649). In addition, in 1923-1924. Moscow received documents from Kharkov with the signature "Cherlyunchakevich": in the Ukrainian capital he temporarily corrected the post of the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR (see: GARF, f. 5263, op. 1, d. 55, l. 345). It is not excluded that it was precisely one of these Cherlyunchakevichs that Minsk requested for the prepared trial of Polish Catholic priests.

JV Stalin's cipher telegram to the secretary of the CPB Central Committee VG Knorin with a proposal to postpone the trial of Catholic Polish priests in Belarus. May 15-16, 1922

No. 24-23 [12]

[15-16 May 1922]

IN CODE.

Secret .

MINSK CB KP OF BELARUS FOR KNORIN or his deputy

Polbureau proposes to postpone the process for a week in order to prepare the materials and ensure success. Notify me immediately. Your conclusion. LESCHINSKY will leave point Nr 2684 / sh

SECRETARY of the Central Committee of the RCP. Stalin

- L. 34. Typewritten copy of that time, certified by the deputy head of the cipher bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) S.F. Chechulin. Dated to # 24-21 and # 24-22. Freehand secrecy formula.

JV Stalin's note to the Polish Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) S. Geltman on the postponement of the trial of Catholic Polish priests in Belarus [May 16, 1922]

No. 24-24 [12]

[May 16, 1922]

Polbureau

Geltman [y]

The process has been postponed. Speed up the immediate departure of Leshchinsky and Pestkovsky.

- L. 38. Handwritten original on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), autograph of J. V. Stalin. Below the text is a pencil note: " Reported by phone [efon y] . No. 5-0729 - 11:40 pm to Comrade Geltman "(" 11:00 "is *corrected from the original* " 12:00 "). *Below is ink droppings:* "vol. Geltman said that they will leave in two days with the materials they collect here. " *Dated to No. 24-22.*

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a report sent on May 16, 1922 to the secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) I.V. Stalin, signed by the responsible officer of the Code Department of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) Dolgov, with the text: "At 13:00 on May 16, you ordered not to transmit the note by direct wire Minsk comrade KNORIN, but in view of the fact that at this time the messenger of the Minsk Telegraph was already looking for the deputy. Comrade Knorin, and who appeared at the telegraph in person at 14:45. I accepted your note and gave an answer. " (L. 36).

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the death sentence in the case of the Moscow clergy and believers. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 7, item 13 of May 18, 1922

No. 24-25

STRICTLY SECRET

13.- About Moscow priests.

(Comrade Trotsky).

(pr [report] No. 6, p. 14).

Approve Comrade Trotsky's conclusion [23] .

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 15. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.276, l. 28. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of lined paper. At the bottom left is a record about the mailing: "Trotsky, Beck." *L. 2:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Stalin, Kamenev, Tomsky, Rykov. Candidates: com. Molotov, Kalinin. Members of the Central Committee [1] * Sokolnikov. With an advisory] voice of comrade Tsyurup. "

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Then* Voroshilov is *crossed out* .

[23] See No. 24-20.

Cipher telegram from the secretary of the Central Bank of the **Communist Party of Belarus V. A. Bogutsky to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to J. V. Stalin on the composition of the trial of Catholic Polish priests in Belarus and the planned sentence. May 26, 1922**

No. 24-26

Received for decryption on 27/1922 at 9 o'clock. 20 minutes.

HIGHLY SECRET
PERFORMANCE SUBMIT TO SECRET ARCHIVE

From Minsk

MOSCOW CC RKP TOV. STALIN

26 / V-22 Y. THE TRIAL OF THE ESERS IS APPOINTED MAY 29. EXTRAORDINARY TRIBUNAL ... [1] * (a few words distorted) ... [1] * CHAIRMAN STAKOVSKY, MEETING TOV. SPAKOINSKY NARKOMZEM TOV. KEPPEN P.O.O. [2] * OKPUSHAGO, ACCUSERS LESHCHINSKY AND PESTKOVSKY. IT WAS RESOLVED TO SEND THE DEATH PENALTY OF KSENZ LISOVSKY, NOT TO PERFORM THE VERDICT. KSEND30V TAMOSHEVSKY, VASILEVSKY PRISONS TERM TO BE DETERMINED AT THE COURT. ARRESTED KSENDZ OF THE GOMEL PROCESS, PRIZED IN THE GOMEL CASE, WHICH COMES TO MINSK WITH FORGIVEN DOCUMENTS WITH THE INTENTION TO GET POLISH. REPORT THE OPINION OF THE CC. nr21 / sh.

SECRETARY OF THE CB KPB BOGUTSKY

- L. 32. Typewritten original on the form of the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a handwritten date "6 / VI-22" *and an incoming number. Formulas of secrecy and about transfer to the archive by a stamp.*

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), sent on May 29, 1922 on behalf of I.V. Stalin for conclusion to L.B. Kamenev, signed by the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) I.P. Tovstukha. On the letter the vultures: " IN [AM] SECRET. URGENT ". Pencil marks: 1) " Arch [iv] P [olit] b [yuro]. Belarus "; 2) "Here, apparently, we are not talking about the Socialist-Revolutionaries, but about the priests. If so, I don't mind. L. Kamenev ". Above is the incoming number of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (6). (L. 31).

[1] * *So in the document.*

[2] * *So in the document, the meaning of the abbreviation is unclear.*

Cipher telegram from the secretary of the Central Bank of the Communist Party of Belarus V. A. Bogutsky to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to JV Stalin about the beginning of the trial of Catholic Polish priests and about the results of negotiations with the Bishop of Minsk and Turov Melchizedek (Paevsky). May 30, 1922

No. 24-27

Received for decryption

31 / V 1922 at 9 o'clock 25 minutes

HIGHLY SECRET
PERFORMANCE SUBMIT TO SECRET ARCHIVE

From Minsk

MOSCOW CC RCP STALIN.

The priests' process began on May 29th. The furnishings are good, MELCHISEDEK [1] * to our proposal, officially proposed by the PRGPU comrade. Olsky, to go to Moscow for negotiations at the SOGPU expressed a kindly [2] * desire, asked to be allowed to go around the diocese. We agreed to leave in a week. 30 / V-22, No. 22 / sh.

SECRETARY OF THE CB KPB: BOGUTSKY

- L. 33. Typewritten original on the form of the cipher telegram of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: " Arch [iv] P [olit] b [yuro] ". *In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the handwritten date* "2 / VI. 1922 g. " *and the incoming number. Formulas of secrecy and about the transfer to the archive in stamps.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Corrected, in the* MELHESEDEK *document* .

[2] * *Corrected, in a* docile kind.

Note from the Central Bank of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to I.V. Stalin and to the GPU to I.S.Unshlikht on the attitude towards various religious groups in Belarus. June 8, 1922

No. 24-28 *

It is secret .

IN THE POLITBURO TS.K. RCP Comrade STALIN.
8 / VI-22
Copy - GPU c. UNSHLICHTU

In connection with the summons to the GPU for negotiations on the possible use of the Bishop of Minsk and Turov - MELCHISEDEK in the fight against TIKHON and the reactionary clergy - the Central Bank of the CPB instructs Comrade. KOREIVO (to the head of the Secret Department of the GPU) - to receive further instructions from you on which line to follow here for us in the future. -

We believe that MELCHIZEDEKA, with a skillful approach, can be used in the fight against the reactionary clergy. You just need to approach him carefully, for MELCHISEDEK is a great diplomat who survived all the occupations and got along with all governments.

At this time, MELCHISEDEK is trying everywhere to emphasize his loyalty to the Soviet regime. On the issue of confiscating valuables, MELCHISEDEK immediately took a firm stand for surrendering valuables, issuing an appeal to the believers on this matter [24] . The rest of the Minsk clergy are more reactionary and conservative than MELCHISEDEK. Minsk priests, where even before the war there was a great struggle with the Catholic Church, more developed and Black Hundred people were selected. At this time, being at the border of the Republic, they still assume the possibility of a conflict and our withdrawal from Belarus, and therefore it is difficult to immediately involve them in the struggle.

A group of (insignificant) Belarusian priests, as well as some Belarusian social activists, raised the issue of autonomy (not autocephaly) of the Belarusian Church. From the negotiations that

were conducted with MELCHISEDEK on this issue, it became clear that MELCHISEDEK does not attach much importance to this issue.

For our part, we are stating that this issue does not matter to us here. Popov-Belarusians are relatively few. Especially zealous implementation of the Belarusianization of the church can have a negative phenomenon, namely, rallying around the church of all public intellectual forces and using it for the purpose of nationalist agitation. Since the Moscow administration of the church will be under our influence, perhaps it is possible to agree to autonomy if this is caused by some political expediency and if the autonomous church is dependent on the Moscow Administration.

We believe that it will be easier for us to fight against the Great Russian priests and in general with the Great Russian influence, and it will sooner be possible to keep them on the lead than the Belarusian National Priests. Since MELCHISEDEK will remain in Belarus and since there will be no counter-revolutionary opposition of the church leaders here, we have no need to form another group of Orthodox clergy. The central focus of anti-religious propaganda will have to be shifted to the fight against Polish clericalism and the sectarianism that has developed recently. Orthodoxy in our conditions presents a comparatively less danger in this respect. -

SECRETARY Ts.B. K.P.B. (signature)

- L. 40 — rev. A typewritten copy of that time, made at the GPU and certified by L.N. Volkov. Handwritten date.

Notes and Comments:

The case contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the Secret Department of the GPU, sent on June 15, 1922 by order of IS Unshlikht "for information" "comrade TROTSKY a copy of Comrade STALIN ". The letter was signed for the head of the Secret Department of the GPU by his assistant I. Z. Surto and secretary Medovshchikov. On the letter stamps: 1) "Top] Secret]"; 2) "Secret". In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: “Arch [iv] P [olit] b [yuro]. Belarus ". In the upper right corner is the stamp

of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "16 / VI 22" and the incoming number. (L. 39).

[24] Appeals of the Bishop of Minsk and Turov Melchizedek regarding the seizure of church valuables, see: GARF, f. 1235, op. 140, d. 60, l. 787-784.

The petition of Archpriest A. I. Vvedensky for pardoning those sentenced to death in the case of the Petrograd clergy and believers. July 5, 1922

No. 24 - 29 [25]

July 5, 1922

To the Chairman of the Petrogubispolkom t. Zinoviev

The Revolutionary Tribunal today sentenced several churchmen to death for counter-revolutionary activities [26] .

The moral significance of this judgment is undoubtedly enormous. Counter-revolution is unacceptable in the church, even if it is covered with the most lofty slogans.

The ruthlessness in the assessment of counter-revolution in the church from the side of justice of the workers 'and peasants' government is an act that should heal those presumptuous church circles that wanted to turn the church into a counter-revolutionary organization.

I am the initiator of the renewal of the church, which wants to make the church not a kept woman of capital, but a fighter for the working people against the violence of the exploiters, who, with their wealth, make the position of the proletariat intolerable.

On February 18, I made a challenge to bourgeois Christianity in the pages of Petrograd [] Pravda. I am waging this struggle with him now and will continue to the end of my life. Since February 18th, my life has turned into a continuous torture, increasing every day. I was persecuted by the clergy, starting with the patriarch, the mob insulted me, there were several attempts on my life. At the beginning of the trial, I was gravely wounded in the head by this ecclesiastical counter-revolution, which hated me for openly pointing out its untruth and the truth of those ideals for which the Soviet government is fighting.

Threats to wipe me off the face of the earth from the Black Hundreds are increasing every day.

And yet, I think that you will not find it strange my request not to carry out the actual execution of this sentence. It is not only the fact that I am a Christian who is obliged to forgive and ask for my enemies to do this.

No, I think that, from a public point of view, it is enough: 1) to qualify the crime of churchmen as deserving capital punishment, 2) the Soviet government is now so strong that it can pardon its enemies, who, of course, are not dangerous to it. After all, these churchmen, as individuals, are so insignificant from the political point of view!

Wouldn't their complete isolation be enough, which would make them absolutely harmless to the state?

The sentence to execution, suspended by the mercy (and only by it) of the victorious proletariat, of course, will bring to the senses the fervent heads of the church counter-revolutionaries. The actual execution will create martyrs out of these churchmen for the crowd (which is why many of them want these shootings so much), which, of course, they do not deserve. I would like to speak with you personally about all this. But the stone wound prevents me from leaving the apartment: I am out of action for a long time.

Archpriest Alexander Vvedensky

Shpalernaya 34 sq. 17.

P. S. Our whole group will intercede with you.

- L. 45-46. Handwritten original, autograph. Top on l. 45 stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 17, item 16 of July 13, 1922 (No. 24-33).

Notes and Comments:

[25] July 9, 1922 A. I. Vvedensky sent to M. I. Kalinin a shorter petition for pardoning those sentenced to execution in the St. Petersburg process, close to those published in case 24 (No. 24-29 and 24-34). Approving the "harsh but just sentence," AI Vvedensky writes further, asking for its mitigation: "Even if they did not deserve this

mercy, the circumstances of the church renewal compel me to ask for this mercy in every possible way. We are accused that it is we, the Renovationists, who are shooting Metropolitan Benjamin, whom the masses love, are accustomed to him and who (apart from the history of values) adhered to being apolitical in his speeches. From him the enemies of our movement want to make a martyr, killed by the "red priests." This will terribly damage our cause, and we want, after all, a great deal of work - to make the church not an instrument of the bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary,

- GARF, f. A-353, op. 6, d.11, l. 64-65ob.

[26] For this verdict, see No. P-148. In addition, on the Petrograd process, the following are published: a statement by Metropolitan Benjamin dated March 05, 1922 (No. P-21), minutes of a meeting of the Petrograd commission Pomgol with representatives of Metropolitan Benjamin dated April 06, 1922 (No. P-88), an appeal by Metropolitan Benjamin dated April 10, 1922 (No. P-96), P. A. Krasikov's indictment at the trial dated June 29, 1922 (No. P-145), the cassation appeal and the request of the defenders Ya.S. Gurovich and others about pardoning the convicts dated July 07, 1922 . (No. P-149).

In addition, the following documents on the Petrograd process were identified in the GARF:

1. "Agreement on the withdrawal of valuables from churches" between the Petrograd commission of Pomgol and representatives of Metropolitan Benjamin dated 06.04 1922 - GARF, f. A-353, op. 6, d.11, l. 56-rev. (published in Pravda on April 14, 1922).

2. A petition to pardon the rector of St. Isaac's Cathedral, Archpriest Leonid Konstantinovich Bogoyavlensky, sent to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee by his wife Zinaida Vasilievna and his children, dated 06.07 1922 - ibid., Fol. 79-80ob.

3. A petition for pardoning Metropolitan Benjamin, sent to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee by the

defender Yakov Samuilovich Gurovich, dated 09.07 1922 - ibid., P. 12-13ob.

4. The petition of a group of clergy "Living Church" for pardoning those sentenced to death, sent to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on July 8, 1922. The signatures are the same as in No. 24-30, and 5 more signatures. Attached are positive reviews of the authorized VTsU Archpriest Mikhail Gremyachevsky about seven convicts - ibid., Fol. 140-141, 130-rev.

5. The statement of the VTsU to the VTsIK about the same from 09.07 1922 - in the same place, l. 52.

6. A petition for pardon for Yuri Petrovich Novitsky, sent by his defender M. S. Ravich to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on September 12, 1922 - ibid., P. 75-76ob.

7. Letters from Yu. P. Novitsky with a petition to abolish the death penalty of those sentenced in the Petrograd process, sent to the Central Executive Committee of A. S. Yenukidze, as well as V. A. Steklov to the newspaper Izvestia and to Professor Yu. Goibarkh 03-14.07 1922 - in the same place, 60-63ob., L. 34-35ob., 36-38ob.

8. The petition of the lawyer L. I. Girinsky for pardoning the convicted, sent to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on July 18, 1922 - ibid., P. 123-rev.

9. "A note on the case of Metropolitan Benjamin of Petrograd, Professor Yu. P. Novitsky and others", compiled by "23 / VII 1922 professor of Petrograd University [illegible signature]" - ibid, fol. 43-47.

10. A petition for clemency of convicts, sent by the Moscow Committee of the Political Red Cross to the Chairman of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee MI Kalinin in July 1922 - ibid., P. 77-78ob.

11. "Characteristics of ten sentenced to capital punishment by the resolution of the Petrograd Revolutionary Tribunal", signed "on the authority of the Living Church group" by Archpriest Alexander

Boyarsky, listing mitigating circumstances, July 1922 - ibid., Pp. 137-139ob.

12. "Conclusion No. 410 / B" of the "member-rapporteur on cassation complaints" on the rejection of all cassation complaints in the Petrograd process, July 1922 - ibid., P. 131-13bob., 183-184.

A set of valuable documents about the Petrograd process with an interesting preface was published by M.V.Shkarovsky: Two episodes of the struggle against the church in Petrograd // Links. Issue 2. M .; SPb., 1992.S. 555-560, 569-579.

The petition of a group of clergy - "Living Church" for pardoning those sentenced to death in the case of the Petrograd clergy and believers. July 6, 1922

No. 24-30

In Petrogubispolkom

We, the undersigned, members of the Living Church, who stand on a diametrically opposite church position than the clergymen convicted yesterday by the Revolutionary Tribunal, bowing before the court of the workers 'and peasants' power, real, like Christian shepherds, petition the Petrogub Executive Committee to mitigate the fate of all clergymen condemned by capital punishment , in particular: Cheltsov, Kazansky, Yelachich, Plotnikov, Chukov, Bogoyavlensky, Bychkov and Shein.

Members of the Higher Church Administration:

Bishop John (Albinsky).

Archpriest Alexander Vvedensky.

Archpriest Mikhail Gremyachevsky, Commissioner of the Supreme Church Administration.

Members of the Petrograd Diocesan Administration:

Archpriest Vladimir Voskresensky

Archpriest Alexander Boyarsky.

Priest [ik] Vasily Telegin.

Living Church representatives:

Prot [priest] Evgeny Zapolsky

Archpriest Alexander Zarnitsky

Archpriest Jacob Zhuravsky

Archpriest Pavel Raevsky

Archpriest Mikhail Popov

22 July 6

- L. 44. Handwritten original; autograph of Archpriest A. I. Vvedensky, signature formulas - autographs. Above is the stamp of the document belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 17, item 16 of July 13, 1922 (No. 24-33). Here is also the handwritten incoming number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "15 / VII-22". *In the center of the document there is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number.*

G. Ye. Zinoviev's note to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to JV Stalin about two petitions for pardoning those sentenced to death in the case of the Petrograd clergy and believers. July 7, 1922

No. 24-31

7 / VII 1922

In the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP

Comrade Stalin

I am sending 2 documents on the case of St. Petersburg "churchmen" [27] . Yesterday I had a telephone conversation on this matter with Comrade Kamenev - he promised to transfer it to the Politburo.

A representative of the tribunal leaves for Moscow on Monday [Christmas tree]. I expect to be in Moscow on Wednesday.

Please keep me informed of your decisions on this matter.

With a compressor G. Zinoviev.

- L. 43- Handwritten original on the letterhead of the chairman of the provincial Petrosovet, autograph. Above is the stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 17, item 16 of July 13, 1922 (No. 24-33).

Notes and Comments:

[27] See # 24-29, # 24-30.

"Minutes of a conference on the possibility of mitigating the punishment of the Petrograd churchmen sentenced to capital punishment on July 5, 1922." 12 July 1922

No. 24-32

C. Secret.

Upon consideration of the verdict, we came to the conclusion: 1) The verdict passed by the Petrograd Tribunal on July 5, 22, the meeting finds quite correct and expedient. He considers all persons sentenced to capital punishment to be harmful and dangerous and, given the current political situation, subject to complete elimination; but if, for political reasons, it was found necessary to go as far as possible to meet the petition of the more loyal layers of the clergy, and in particular the higher Church administration and the Living Church group, then out of the ten condemned to capital punishment, the conference would find it possible to mitigate the fate only in in relation to the following six persons: 1) Mikhail Cheltsov, 2) Ognev, 3) Epiphany, 4) Plotnikov, 5) Chukov, and 6) Yelachich, and in relation to a citizen of Kazan (Metropolitan Veniamin), Novitsky Yuri Petrovich - professor at Petrograd University, chairman of Orthodox parishes, Ivan Mikhailovich Kovsharov - formerly. Attorney at law and member of the Board of Orthodox parishes and Shein Sergey Pavlovich (Archimandrite Sergei) - 6th member of the State Duma (nationalist) - as persons who inspired, led and quite consciously conducted counter-revolutionary policy under the church flag, the conference finds it inexpedient to mitigate their punishment.

12 July 1922

P. Krasikov [1] *. Samsonov 12 / VII-22 g.

Mikhail Galkin. N. Popov [1] *

- L. 42. (A). A later certified typewritten copy. Above the text is a typewritten note stating that the document is an appendix to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 17, item 16 of July 13, 1922 (No. 24-33).

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.286, l. 23. (B). Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten script, signature formulas - autographs in blue ink. The same ink is inscribed "in relation" *above the line before listing the pardoned and the number in the date at the end of the document. Above is a stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 17, item 16 of July 13, 1922 (No. 24-33). Below is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Restored from B, c A* Mikhail Galkin, Samsonov, P. Popov, (one signature is illegible).

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on those sentenced to death in the case of the Petrograd clergy and believers. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 17, paragraph 16 of July 13, 1922

No. 24-33

C. Secret.

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
16. About St. Petersburg priests. (t. Trotsky)	16.a) Agree with the Commission's proposal for 4 and 6. 6) To instruct the secretariat of the Central Committee to talk with the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the basis of the commission's report.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 41. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on July 13, 1922. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "To comrade NAZARETIAN." *On the document by the hand of JV Stalin, notes: 1)* "To the Archive Pol [it] B [yuro]. Stalin "; *2)* "Strictly Secret ": *3)* "Fulfilled. I. Stalin. 14 / VII ". *Below is a stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 17, paragraph 16 of July 13, 1922. There is also a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number. Formula of secrecy in typescript.*

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.286, l. 22. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of lined paper. In the right column, the second time written "with a proposal" is *crossed out . At the bottom left is the mailing record:* "t. Nazaretyan, <Niko ...>, t. Krasikov, t. Galkin, t. Samsonov. " *L. 2:* "There were members of the Politburo comrades. Kamenev, Trotsky, Stalin, Molotov (candidate), Tomsky, Rykov, Zinoviev. Members of the Central Committee Radek, Chubar.

The petition of Archpriest A.I.Vvedensky to A.I.

No. 24-34

T. RYKOV.

I am disturbing you in writing, being unable to personally address you with the same fervent prayer with which I dare to bother you with my letter.

Let me first of all introduce myself: I am Archpriest Alexander Ivanovich Vvedensky. This is me in February. years on the pages of "Petrogradskaya Pravda" was the first to challenge the entire bourgeois Christianity and our Orthodox Church in particular about their heartlessness in the face of a terrible famine. I demanded the realization of church values for the hungry. This was done by me before the corresponding decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and, of course, against the will of Tikhon and Metropolitan Benjamin. It is difficult for a non-church person to imagine what a storm of indignation my letter caused in our midst. "You are Judas, a Jew, you sold yourself to the Bolsheviks ..." The verbal persecution, which continued for several months, turned into an open and organized campaign of the churchmen against me. I was twice brought before the church court; finally, I was excommunicated from the church. This is not enough - the crowd, nudged by the churchmen, attempted on my life several times in the street, and, finally, I was seriously wounded by a stone in the head on June 12 - and still have not recovered from the consequences of the injury, which is why I cannot personally report to you that writing. I will add to this that the persecution of me by the churchmen continues and I am not sure of a single day of my life ... These circumstances, it seems to me, give me the right to be objective on the issue to which I am now turning. I appeal to you with a prayer for pardoning the personality of Metropolitan Benjamin and Archimandrite Sergius Shein. I know Benjamin well. Until I spoke out against Tikhon, he was always kind to me. Under pressure from church circles, in recent months he left me and excommunicated, as I said, then from the church, but earlier I could observe him from

month to month. He has objective guilt. He did not find the courage to definitely go against Tikhon's will - not to give up values. He, I know, in his heart and in private conversations was for the return of valuables even before the vessels (beyond the decree). But he was crushed by the strength of the crowd, which, in the form of a mass of reactionary clergy, kulak church councils, etc., pressed on him. He is a weak-willed person, without initiative, without a broad mind. Hence his hesitation. He sometimes gives (the first goes to Smolny), then no (the second message), finally, he compromises - the third appeal. For the third appeal, he was hated by many. He was insulted several times in churches (in the Kazan and Ioannovsky monasteries, etc.) - "you are a red metropolitan" ... He never thought about overthrowing Soviet power. What would the old regime give him? Before the revolution, he was an eternal vicar, who was not allowed to move, which, of course, deeply offended this quiet and narrow-minded monk. Before the revolution he was also financially in need. It was put forward by the revolution, if you will, as somewhat persecuted by the tsarist church bureaucracy. Benjamin, being a metropolitan, always remembered the tsarist regime with a heavy feeling. In the first years of his rule of the Metropolitanate, he immediately acquired the reputation of a "Bolshevik" from the reactionaries. Yes, Benjamin categorically and systematically forbade the clergy from interfering in politics. This is especially after the October coup (when I personally met him). When Yudenich approached Petrograd, he expressed fear that the Whites would come and that he would end. And this is a fact - White would have immediately given him a "head off". We all knew this, because we knew the persecution of him by the church reactionaries. as somewhat persecuted by the tsarist church bureaucracy. Benjamin, being a metropolitan, always remembered the tsarist regime with a heavy feeling. In the first years of his rule of the Metropolitanate, he immediately acquired the reputation of a "Bolshevik" from the reactionaries. Yes, Benjamin categorically and systematically forbade the clergy to interfere in politics. This is especially after the October coup (when I personally met him). When Yudenich approached Petrograd, he expressed fear that

the Whites would come and that he would end. And this is a fact - White would have immediately given him a "head off". We all knew this, because we knew the persecution of him by the church reactionaries. as somewhat persecuted by the tsarist church bureaucracy. Benjamin, being a metropolitan, always remembered the tsarist regime with a heavy feeling. In the first years of his rule of the Metropolitanate, he immediately acquired the reputation of a "Bolshevik" from the reactionaries. Yes, Benjamin categorically and systematically forbade the clergy from interfering in politics. This is especially after the October coup (when I personally met him). When Yudenich approached Petrograd, he expressed fear that the Whites would come and that he would end. And this is a fact - White would have immediately given him a "head off". We all knew this, because we knew the persecution of him by the church reactionaries. Benjamin categorically and systematically forbade the clergy to interfere in politics. This is especially after the October coup (when I personally met him). When Yudenich approached Petrograd, he expressed fear that the Whites would come and that he would end. And this is a fact - White would have immediately given him a "head off". We all knew this, because we knew the persecution of him by the church reactionaries. Benjamin categorically and systematically forbade the clergy to interfere in politics. This is especially after the October coup (when I personally met him). When Yudenich approached Petrograd, he expressed fear that the Whites would come and that he would end. And this is a fact - White would have immediately given him a "head off". We all knew this, because we knew the persecution of him by the church reactionaries.

Benjamin's sermons always had the main idea - love for everyone, even for enemies. All his sermons I heard made a pacifying impression. And so Benjamin lived these years, very beloved by the crowd for his kind, even character. I think that he did not harm a single person (knowingly). He was just not loved by those who wanted (and wants - there are a lot of them) to lead the church through the Karlovytsky Cathedral [28] .

This spring Benjamin's personal tragedy began. This is a tragedy, I would say, of his individual character. Kind and weak-willed. Well-intentioned - and very narrow-minded. Perspective - and lack of courage to overcome obstacles encountered. He, as I said, was terrorized by the crowd: to give nothing to the Bolsheviks. This is the slogan of church hatred. Give - you are an apostate from the faith. Add to this that over Benjamin there was also Tikhon's threat of being deprived of his dignity if he did not obey him. And the man was at a loss. He always and sincerely wanted to live in peace with the Soviet regime - and he turned out to be a criminal before it. He could have relied on the progressive clergy, but at the beginning of the campaign I was literally alone in Petrograd. To be with Vvedensky is to be corrupt. Only, after all, in a few weeks 11 priests will join me. And against us are hundreds of priests. And Benjamin is not coming with us. What is it? An attempt to overthrow Soviet power? Oh no - only a lack of courage to go against the crowd, because Benjamin himself, I repeat, was for the surrender of values. He was afraid of the excesses of the crowd against the authorities. When riots broke out on the Haymarket, he pointed out to the rectors the need to isolate the church from those dark people who, under the flag of churchliness, want to pursue their political goals. He published the same thoughts on Friday on Strastnaya in Petrogradskaya Pravda (for this alone he was reprimanded by the churchmen) ... Here's the truth about Benjamin. The truth from the mouth of the man with whom Benjamin broke up, fell with all the strength of his anger, but who does not want untruth to touch Benjamin. Benjamin is condemned, condemned for the cause - in his great post he was supposed to be not that Tikhonov switchman (despite his high rank, he, by his individuality, was nevertheless exactly him), but the leader of the church masses. He, in the time of the people's test, had to urge the people in every way to follow the instructions of the Soviet government. Instead, he maneuvers, double-minded. For this he must be condemned, removed. But he was not an active enemy of the Soviet regime, did not think about its overthrow, did not organize it.

Therefore, his execution will not correspond to his actual crime. I will say more. His execution will have unintended consequences. Here are some of them.

Benjamin is a holy martyr tortured by the servants of the devil and the Jews *. Terrible outbursts of hatred for Jews and for Soviet power will awaken spontaneously in the souls of hundreds of thousands and, m. 6., millions. Of course, the authorities can easily eliminate these explosions, but is it expedient, from the state point of view, to exacerbate the mass psyche in this way? Take into account that the people know well that Benjamin was never for a tsar who did not love Benjamin, that he was always kind, affectionate, called for forgiving everything and everyone and, rather, was a Bolshevik (in the eyes of the same church circles), than a counter-revolutionary.

They will point out that the terry Black Hundreds (many princes of the church, whose names I cannot name) are now at large in general, or just about everything in prison, and Benjamin, who all the time tried (this is a fact) to live peacefully with the Soviet regime (I think that these attempts failed due to his weak-willed and narrow mind), and Benjamin is shot. And this is now, when executions are so, thank God, rare, when the Soviet government is so strong internationally and internally, when it has many ways to isolate Benjamin and his similar socially unstable comrades-in-arms. I will add to this that the whole matter of renewing the church, an attempt to make it not a servant of the bourgeoisie, but a feasible helper to the proletariat, is morally and factually dependent on the outcome of the sentence. If there are shootings at all, we, the Living Church (and I, first of all, personally), will be murderers of these unfortunates in the eyes of the crowd. The attempt to heal the church will be thwarted.

I allowed myself to turn without knowing you. I know about your humane heart, which will understand Benjamin's psychology and ... yes, will pity him.

I am unhappy that I cannot personally and in more detail state everything that I said above. But I believe in God - and I think that

He will help me. And I believe in the Russian people, I deeply respect the workers 'and peasants' power of the people, I believe that the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, as the supreme will of the people, will condemn the deeds of these church criminals, headed by Benjamin, but it will also find in itself the strength, by the grace of the victorious proletariat, to leave life to these unfortunate , neutralizing them by isolation or otherwise.

Forgive me for Christ's sake for taking so much of your time.

Archpriest Alexander Vvedensky

Petrograd, Shpalernaya 34 sq. 17, 25 July 1922

P. S. I asked for more about Shein. Here are the reasons for my request. Despite his aristocratic past, he has always been deeply religious. And, being a priest, he did not interfere at all in any active church affairs.

- L. 50-51 rev. Certified typewritten copy of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Top l. 50 a stamp and a handwritten note on the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Plenum meeting, minutes No. 3, item 5 of August 2, 1922 (No. 24-36). Here is also the stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number. Handwritten incoming number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b).

Notes and Comments:

The case contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the secretariat of the deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the STO A. I. Rykov, sent on July 29, 1922 "by order" of A. I. Rykov "for consideration" by the "Central Committee of the RCP, comrade STALIN . All-Russian Central Executive Committee, c. ENUKIDZE "signed by the head of the secretariat, deputy chairman of the STO B. Nesterov. The letter is stamped " SECRET ". Handwritten marks: 1) "vol. Molotov. 29.VII. A. N [azaretyan] "; 2) "29.VII. A. N [azaretyan] "(made by the hand of A. M. Nazaretyan); 3) " From the [secret] archive. For your information . 31 / VII. (V. Molotov) "; 4)

"V. Kuibyshev ". A stamp and a handwritten note on the document's belonging to the office work of the Plenum meeting, minutes No. 3, item 5 of August 2, 1922 (No. 24-36). Stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "29 / VIII-22" and the incoming number. (L. 49).

* So the crowd, fanatical brutal, will say.

[28]The Karlovtsy Council ("Russian All-Foreign Church Council") met in Sremski Karlovtsy (Serbia) November 21 - December 2, 1921. Among the 163 members of the Council were 11 bishops, 22 representatives of monastic and white clergy, as well as prominent Orthodox scholars-theologians and 67 political leaders and military ranks of Wrangel's army. According to the Izvestia newspaper, Metropolitan Anthony Khrapovitsky, opening the Cathedral, “conveyed on behalf of the Patriarch a blessing for the cathedral labors,” but we have no documentary evidence of this statement by the newspaper, hostile to the Patriarch. The Council adopted a message to the Russian emigration calling for the restoration of the Romanov dynasty to the throne and an appeal to the Genoese conference participants not to negotiate with representatives of the Soviet government. The highest bodies of the Russian Orthodox Church, headed by Patriarch Tikhon, reacted negatively to these political actions of the Council (condemned and 34 delegates of the Council, headed by Archbishop Eulogius). On May 5, 1922, the Patriarch, together with the Holy Synod and the Supreme Church Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, abolished the Supreme Church Administration abroad, elected at the Council, disavowing the political declarations of the Council. On September 2, 1922, the foreign Bishops' Council, formally declaring its subordination to this abolition of the VTsU, in fact ignored it, instead forming the Provisional Holy Synod of Bishops Abroad. Patriarch Tikhon in November 1923 and in March - April 1925 confirmed his decree of May 5, 1922. The patriarch appointed Metropolitan Eulogius as the head of Russian Orthodox parishes abroad on January 30, 1922, who managed to create the famous theological center of Russian

Orthodoxy in Paris. Metropolitan Eulogius broke up with the Karlovytsia center in June 1923.

Note by the Secretary of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee A.S. Yenukidze to I.V. Stalin outlining the petition of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to pardon those sentenced to death in the case of the Petrograd clergy and believers. August 2, 1922

No. 24-35

Top secret.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP. t. Stalin

The Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, having heard the report on the Petrograd churchmen, orally decided: "to instruct Comrade Yenukidze to ask the Politburo from the Faction of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to reconsider his directive on this matter."

In view of the fact that the question has been dragging on, I very much ask for your order to speed up the answer. -

The Presidium was attended by: comrades. Petrovsky, Kurskiy, Sapronov and I (Small President [ium])

2 / VIII. A. Yenukidze

- L. 48. Handwritten original, autograph. Below is a handwritten note stating that the document is an appendix to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 17, item 16 of July 13, 1922 (No. 24-33).

Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the rejection of the petition of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to pardon those sentenced to death in the case of the Petrograd clergy and believers. From the minutes of the meeting of the Plenum No. 3, p, 3 of August 2, 1922

No. 24-36

Top secret.

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
5. About priests, (Comrade Sapronov).	5. a) Reject the petition of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to revise the directive of the Central Committee on the question of priests. b) To consider it necessary to interview Comrade Kalinin in the press about our policy on the church question. Instruct the text to draw up a commission from Comrades. Trotsky, Kalinin and Bubnov.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 47. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on August 2, 1922. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "To comrade KALININ." *A stamp and a handwritten note on the document's belonging to the office work of the Plenum meeting, minutes No. 3, paragraph 5 of August 2, 1922. Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number. Formula of secrecy in typescript.*

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the introduction of Deputy People's Commissar of Justice P. A. Krasikov into the Commission for the leadership of church processes. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 60, paragraph 22 of April 5, 1923

No. 24-37 [29]

STRICTLY SECRET

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
Comrade's proposal Yaroslavsky on the introduction to the commission for the management of church processes comrade. Krasikov, member of the anti-religious commission of the Central Committee.	Introduce to the commission for the management of church processes Cde. Yaroslavsky and Krasikov.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 52. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), with the printed date of drawing up the extract on March 30, 1923. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "comrade t. YAROSLAVSKY, KRASIKOV ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 60, d.25, l. 16. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s. Above the text of the extract there is a typewritten note *:* " By a survey of the PB members on March 30, 23 ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 329, l. 29. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the form of Politburo resolutions. At the bottom right is the mailing record: "Extract com. Yaroslavsky, Krasikov ". *L. 2:* "Present: 1. Molotov. 2. Tomsk. 3. Kamenev. 4. Zinoviev. 5. Rykov. 6. Kalinin. 7. Stalin. Members of the Central Control Commission: 1. Solts. Members of the Central Committee: Radek. Sapronov. Deputy Chairman of the SNK Tsyurupa ".

Notes and Comments:

[29] In the draft minutes of the Politburo meeting (APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 329, l. 30) there is a note by E. M. Yaroslavsky sent to " Members of PB . to vote]. T. Stalin ", beginning with the following text:" 1) Due to the fact that none of the members of the anti-religious] commission of the Central Committee entered the commission for the management of church processes (*Corrected, in the document* .) her to correct certain shortcomings in the organization of the case (there was not even a transcript of the testimony of the defendants). Therefore, the matter must be rectified by urgently introducing Comrade P.A. Krasikov into this commission.". At the bottom of the record of the voting results: "I vote for the underlined proposal of Comrade Yaroslavsky about Krasikov. I. Stalin "; "For M. Tomsky"; "I am for the introduction of Yaroslavsky himself into this commission. L. Kamenev "; further crossed out "V. Molotov "; "Introduce com. Yaroslavsky and Krasikov. G. Zinoviev. V. Molotov. A.I. Rykov. Trotsky. " At the top left, a handwritten note about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 60 with the date "30.III. 23 ", stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date" 6 / IV-23 " and the incoming number.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) - "on changing the measure of restraint" to Patriarch Tikhon. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 13, paragraph 6 of June 21, 1923

No. 24-38

Listened:	Resolved:
9 [1] *. Questions of the anti-religious commission [30] , a) Appeal. (Comrades Yaroslavsky, Krylenko)	1. Accept the proposal of the anti-religious commiss measure of restraint for Belavin [2] *. 2. Instruct Comrade Yaroslavsky to enter the Politb with additional proposals [4] *. 3. Do not set the process yet.

- L. 53. The original on the form of the Politburo resolutions, the column "They listened to" *on a typewriter, the column* "It was decided" *by hand. Above, handwritten notes: 1)* " Only for Comrade Stalin ": *2)* " Do not enter into the protocol ." *Therefore, in the draft minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 13, item 9 of June 21, 1923 (APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 344), there is no record of this resolution, it has been moved to the published item 24.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Handwritten.*

[2] * *Corrected in the document for* Belyavin.

[3] * *Corrected from previously written* 2.

[4] * *Further deleted* in the Belyavin case.

[30] On this and other proposals of the ARC in the case of Patriarch Tikhon, see comm. 13 to d. 25. On the creation, composition and functions of the ARC, see d. 12 and the Foreword, p. 83-104.

On the trial in the case of Patriarch Tikhon (Belavin)

LD Trotsky's instruction for the press regarding the seizure of church valuables [March 24, 1922]

No. 25-1 *

Secret

The newspaper campaign for the confiscation of valuables is not being carried out correctly. It is directed against the clergy in general. Funny satirical poems are published against priests in general. This satire hits the lower clergy and rallies the clergy into one whole. The political task of this moment is not at all the same, but the exact opposite. It is necessary to split the priests, or rather deepen and sharpen the existing split. And in St. Petersburg, and in Moscow, and in the provinces there are many priests who agree to the withdrawal of valuables, but are afraid of the top. The discontent at the top, which puts the lower ranks of the clergy in a difficult position in this matter, is very great.

In agitation we must proceed from this basic fact now . We now regard the priests not as priests of some kind of religion, but as a group of citizens to whom the state has entrusted values on certain conditions. There is a split in this group of citizens. One part of it, regardless of its religious prejudices, which we are not interested in now, recognizes the need to convey values for the salvation of the starving, the other part - the princes of the church, greedy, rapacious, corrupted, anti-people - are fighting against this in every possible way, terrorizing the lower classes. The task of agitation is now to support these lower strata against the top, to make them understand and feel that the state will not allow the top to terrorize them, since they are trying to ensure the execution of the decrees of the workers 'and peasants' government.

Once again: the political task is to isolate the upper circles of the church, compromise them on the very specific issue of helping the starving and then show them the stern hand of the workers' state, since these upper circles dare to rebel against it.

Central Committee Secretary Molotov

- L. 2. Typewritten original. One-handed signature formula and privacy formula. Above is the handwritten incoming number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "24 / III 22". *Dated from a covering letter (see note. To No. 25-1).*

- Published without semantic discrepancies as the text of the cipher telegram: Badelin V.I. Gold of the Church. Historical sketches and modernity. Ivanovo, 1993.S. 178-179; The chosen vessel: Collection of documents on the history of the Russian Orthodox Church. 1888-1932. SPb., 1994.S. 311.

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter on the official memorandum of the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, sent on March 24, 1922, signed by L. D. Trotsky to V. M. Molotov with the text: ... This is extremely important. I ask you to send a copy of the instructions also to Comrade Sapronov. " On the letter in the hand of VM Molotov, the resolution: " Agitprop . Send out [3] . V. Molotov ". In the upper right corner is the incoming number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "24 / III 22". (L. 1).

"Minutes of the Secret Meeting of the Presidium of the GPU" on the attitude towards Patriarch Tikhon and on the processes against the clergy. May 3, 1922

No. 25-2 *

24 hours

S. Sekr [etno]

Present Comrades: UNSHLIKHT, MENZHINSKY, YAGODA, SAMSONOV.

from N.K.Yu. Comrade KRASIKOV.

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
1. About the summoning of Patriarch TIKHONA to the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal as a witness in the case of priests who resisted the removal of valuables from churches.	1. The meeting finds TIKHON's challenge inappropriate.
2. About summoning TIKHON to the GPU to present him with ultimatum demands on the issue of renouncing him from the post of deprivation of dignity and anaphimation of representatives of the foreign monarchist anti-Soviet and Interventional active clergy.	2. TIKHONA to summon and demand from him, within 24 hours, publication, excommunication from the church, defrocking and abdication of the above clergy, as well as demand from him to issue a special message to the foreign Orthodox clergy and to hand over the valuables that are in foreign churches to representatives of the Soviet power. If TIKHON refuses to comply with the above requirements, he should be immediately arrested by presenting him with all the charges committed by him against Soviet Power in aggregate [1] .
3. About the TIKHONA process.	3. In view of the upcoming trial of TIKHONA, to develop against him the most frantic agitation, both oral and [in] the press,

	on a republican scale, for which to ask the Central Committee. relevant instructions to local party organizations. To admit that the newspaper company, both in the Stalinist and local press [1] * against the priests, has become extremely quiet.
4. On the proceedings against the priests, in connection with the seizure of valuables. -	4. Pay attention to Ts.K. RCP on the shown softness of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in relation to the convicted priests, which contradicts the line and directives of the Central Committee in this respect. RCP [2] .
5. About the publication of the magazine. -	5. To oblige comrade. GALKINA and comrade SHMELEV to do comrade KRASIKOV and comrade. Samsonov report therefore on the issue of May 4 at 12 o'clock in the afternoon arriving at the report with all the materials related to the publication of the journal.

CHAIR: Unshlicht

SECRETARY: Samsonov [2] *

"3" May 1922. - 24 hours.

Printed in 3 copies and sent to Comrade Comrade UNSHLICHT, Stalin [3] * and Trotsky [3] *.

SECRETARY: Samsonov - *L. 4-rev. (AND). Typewritten original, the first and third signatures are autographs, the second is missing. On l. 4 at the top with the hand of T.P. Samsonov litter: "*vol. Stalin. " *In his own hand, the secrecy formula, date number and hour.*

*- CA FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d.11, l. 127-vol. (B). Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark; signatures - autographs. On l. 127 at the top by the hand of I. S. Unshlikht of the litter: "*To the case of confiscation of valuables. 10 / 5.22. Unshlikht ". *There is also a stamp of the Secretariat of the Presidium of the Cheka with a handwritten date "11 / V-* 1922" *and*

the incoming number. Date number and hour - by the hand of T. P. Samsonov. There is no secrecy formula.

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter sent on May 3, 1922, signed by I. S. Unshlikht, to I. V. Stalin with a request "to put this question to the Politburo." On the letter vultures: 1) " Sov [shenno1 secret ". 2) "Only in person." Handwritten notes: 1) " GPU . Help.Gol . " 2) "Arch [iv] P [olit] -B [yuro]", 3) "24 hours." Below is the incoming number of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "5 / V 22". (L. 3).

[1] * *Further clogged* extremely abated.

[2] * *Restored according to B, absent in A.*

[3] * *BA inscribed by the hand of TP Samsonov instead of the previously printed* and 2 copies. in the 6th Department of the SOGPU.

[1] Patriarch Tikhon announced his condemnation of the "message of the Karlovatsky Council on the restoration of the Romanov dynasty" in his statement to the GPU on 05.04.1922 (see No. P-87). A more detailed condemnation of this council is expressed in decree No. 347 of Patriarch Tikhon and the united presence of the Holy Synod and the Supreme Church Council dated 05.05.1922 (Acts of His Holiness Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, later documents and correspondence on the canonical succession of the highest ecclesiastical authority. 1917- 1943. M., 1994.S. 193-194). However, on the evening of 05.05 1922, during the interrogation of the patriarch at the GPU, V.R. Menzhinsky, P.A. the patriarch was demanded to "categorically dissociate himself" from the foreign clergy, to summon Evlogii Georgievsky and Anthony Khrapovitsky to Moscow, to condemn the "reactionary clergy" not "platonically", but "legally" (Vostryshev M. I. Patriarch Tikhon. M., 1995. S. 217-219). Traces of the unyielding position of the patriarch on all these requirements are visible in the "investigation report No. 1" of the SB GPU - see No. 25-5.

[2] On the "softness" of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in relation to priests convicted in the Shuya case, see No. 24-1 - 24-3, 24-5.

L.D.Trotsky's note on the coverage of the trial of the Moscow clergy and believers in print. May 4, 1922

No. 25-3

in [esma] urgently

from. secret.

EDITORIAL OFFICE "Izvestia"

EDITORIALS "Pravda"

EDITORIAL OFFICE "Rabochaya Moskvy"

Central Committee of the RCP

Comrade Zelensky

What is it? Today, neither Izvestia, nor Pravda, nor even Rabochaya Moskva has anything about the priest's trial. The end of the trial was postponed specifically in order to give the press an opportunity to make up for its downright criminal omission in covering and explaining the trial. And despite the fact that every day is of decisive importance, neither yesterday nor today there is nothing in the newspapers about the process. With comrade The Steklovs, I agreed on the third day about the need to devote a whole page to the priestly process, to give it the articles on the first page, etc. T. Solts attended the meeting of the Central Committee. and declared that the editorial board of Pravda would, of course, take the necessary measures. With comrade Zelensky, we agreed on the "Workers' Moscow ["] and postponement of the process precisely in order to allow the press to prepare public opinion.

I propose the editorial board [m], on the instructions of the Politburo of the Central Committee, give the priest's trial the main place in Saturday and Sunday issues... All editorial forces should be mobilized to comprehensively cover the process and its main conclusions. The most important of these conclusions is as follows: in the Soviet republic there is a centralized anti-popular counter-revolutionary organization, which is covered by religion, but in fact

is a political community. This organization has its own branch in the form of a monarchical priestly foreign organization, which spends a lot of money. The church hierarchy, headed by Patriarch Tikhon, has transported enormous church values abroad over the years. These ecclesiastical values go there to support the rich life of the monarchist priests, to counter-revolutionary propaganda, and to prepare the monarchist restoration. The trial in Shuya, the trial in Moscow revealed an all-Russian counter-revolutionary organization, hiding behind the name of the church. It is necessary to bring the matter to the end. It is necessary to bring to the strictest responsibility the real culprits and organizers of the monarchist-priestly conspiracy[3] .

4 / V

L. Trotsky

P. S. I inform the editorial board that I will submit to the Politburo a proposal to bring the editorial boards to party responsibility for failure to comply with the POLITBURO resolution.

- L. 6. Typewritten original, signature - facsimile. Date to the left of the signature, handwritten. In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: " Arch [iv] P [olit] B [yuro] ". *Here is also a handwritten note on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 5, item 6 of May 4, 1922 (No. 25-4). To the left of it, by the hand of Leonid Trotsky's secretary, MS Glazman, the outgoing number of the office of the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council with the date* "May 5, 1922" is *affixed . Stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number.*

Notes and Comments:

[3] It is easy to see that the second half of this document is a brief directive not only to the authors of newspaper articles, but also to the authors of the indictments and speeches in the case of Metropolitan Benjamin, Patriarch Tikhon and others. This directive was officially approved by the Politburo on 05/04/1922 - see No. 24-4.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on the Moscow process in connection with the confiscation of valuables." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 5, paragraph 6 of May 4, 1922

No. 25-4, MOST SECRET

6.— On the Moscow process in connection with the confiscation of valuables. (Comrades Trotsky, Kamenev, Beck).

a) Issue a directive to the Moscow Tribunal

1) immediately bring Tikhon to court, 2) apply capital punishment to the priests.

b) In view of insufficient press coverage of the Moscow trial, instruct Comrade Trotsky, on behalf of the Politburo, to instruct the editors of all Moscow newspapers today about the need to pay incomparably greater attention to this process and, in particular, to clarify the role of the upper echelons of the church hierarchy.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 6. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s. The form contains the wrong date: "5.V-1922". *Below is a handwritten note: "* Kk (Kkh?). help . Mater [ials] see subsection - about Tikhon. " *Under it is a litter with the other hand, referring to the resolution of the Politburo meeting, protocol No. 6, clause 18c* "dated 8 / V-22" *(No. 24-12).*

- APRF, f. 3, op. 60, d.25, l. 5. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark. In the form, the number "5" *in the typewritten date has been corrected by hand to* "4".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.274, l. 6 — rev. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten script on a sheet of lined paper. In item a 1) "immediately" *is written with the same hand above the line. In item a 2)* "to the priests" *is inscribed with the same hand above the line. At the end of p. B,* "top" is *converted from* "supreme". *At the bottom left is the mailing record:* "p. and Beck, Kamenev, everything to Trotsky. " *For the list of those present, see No. 23-40.*

"Investigative report No. 1 of the 6th branch of the SB GPU on the case of Patriarch Tikhon." [May 9-10, 1922]

No. 25-5 *

Sov [shenno1 secret. -

The summary is printed twice a week. - Printed in 6 copies] and sent to Comrade. Comrade STALIN, TROTSKY, DZERZHINSKY, MENZHINSKY, UNSHLIKHT and alone in business. -

In testimony dated 5 / 5-22, TIKHON, when asked whether he condemned the fugitive foreign clergy who sat at the Karlovytsky Cathedral, replied that he condemned their activities, abolished the overseas ecclesiastical higher administration and intends to convene a meeting of 12 hierarchs on the subject making one or another condemnation to the participants of the Karlovytsky Cathedral [4] .

In the same testimony, to the question of whether he would give a directive to the priests abroad, so that the latter, according to the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, give out all church property to the representatives of the Soviets in favor of the starving, he replied "in property matters to the Patriarchs], orders were issued jointly with the Supreme Church Administration, which is affiliated with him, and I will make a proposal to the said Office for implementation. "

In the same testimony to the question of whether he condemns the agitation of the priests against the seizure of church values, he replied ["] I condemn in the sense of open agitation, and I consider it open agitation if the clergy, of their own free will and desire, spreads their thoughts directed against the seizure of church values anywhere, I do not condemn such agitation, which is expressed by a clergyman in response to questions asked by believers with a request to explain to them the church rule or doctrine in this regard ["].

In the testimony of 9 / 5-22, TIKHON did not recognize the enemy of the workers and peasants of Russia, the Metropolitan of Kiev ANTONY KHRAPOVITSKY, the former Manager of the Supreme

Church Administration under Denikin, an ardent k [ontr] -r [evolutioner] and the Black Hundreds who inspired the good army in the fight against Soviet power. An enemy of the working people TIKHON said Anthony only since poslednyago appearances in print in 1922 who called the Black Hundred strength to fight against the Soviet power, and the accession of Russia to the throne of the Romanovs [5] . The same protocol TIKHON showed that postal relations with the fugitive to [Ontro] p [evolyutsionnym] clergy located abroad he made through the Estonian, Latvian, Polish, of Finland, and the Czech mission since 1920 [6] .-

TIKHON does not recognize the counter-revolutionary activities of the Higher Church Administration under Denikin and others to [ontr] -r [evolutionary] white governments, saying that "I do not know this, since I have no facts to indicate this."

Archimandrite Tikhon cellmate neophyte (Osipov NA) has shown that Tikhonov has repeatedly invited close standing [1] * to his priests to his apartment, where conversations spoke of sending Eulogy (Berlin) to America to organize church affairs [7] . -

HEAD OF THE 6th DEPARTMENT OF THE SOGPU: E. Tuchkov. - *L. 9-10. Typewritten original, signature - autograph. On l. 9 in the upper left corner is a handwritten notation:* "Arch [iv] P [olit] B [yuro]". *Stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with handwritten date* "12 / V.1922" *and the incoming number. Dated by dates in the text and in the covering letter (see note to No. 25-5).*

Notes and Comments:

The cover letter is printed directly on the document in the upper left corner of sheet 9. This letter is dated May 10, 1922. It was sent signed by the head of the GPU's Secret Department, TP Samsonov, addressed to JV Stalin. (L. 9).

The file contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), sent on May 12, 1922 “on behalf of Comrade STALIN "" for information "to V. I. Lenin signed by the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A. M.

Nazaretyan with a request to return the documents to the" Secretariat of the Politburo comrade. Burakova ". The letter contains the incoming number of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), which coincides with the number in the stamp on document No. 25-5 (l. 9, 10) and the label: "in [odeyat] 455 / L. 16.V.22 ". (L. 8).

The file contains a note from the Assistant Secretary of the Politburo E. M. Sherlina dated May 16, 1922 with the text: "According to Comrade Lepeshinskaya (Secretary] Comrade Lenin's) the attached material has been read by Comrade Lenin." On the note there is a handwritten note: "Arch [iv] P [olit] b [yuro]". A handwritten note about the belonging of the note to the covering letter of May 12, 1922 (fol. 8). (L. 7).

[1] * *Further crossed out* through.

[4] See No. P-87.

[5] Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev and Galich (Khrapovitsky Alexei Pavlovich, 03/17/1863 - 08/10/1936) is an outstanding church figure of Russian Orthodoxy in the country and abroad. In 1917-1918. - An active participant in the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, one of three candidates for the patriarchal throne. From 03/05/1918 - Metropolitan of Kiev and Galician.

The Supreme Provisional Church Administration was established at the South-Eastern Church Council, held in May 1919 in Stavropol. First, Archbishop Mitrofan (Simashkevich) of the Don became its chairman, and then Metropolitan Anthony (Khrapovitsky), who returned from Galician captivity. On October 15, 1920, in Simferopol, the Supreme Church Administration in the South of Russia appointed Archbishop of Volyn Eulogius (Georgievsky) as the governor of Orthodox Russian churches in Western Europe. The first meeting of the Supreme Church Administration in the South of Russia outside Russia took place on November 19, 1920 in the port of Constantinople on board the steamer Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich, chaired by Metropolitan Anthony. At this meeting, the Simferopol decision

was confirmed on Archbishop Eulogia as the administrator of Russian Orthodox parishes in Western Europe, including Bulgaria and Romania, but the administration of the Russian parishes in Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey was left to the VTsU of the South of Russia. On April 8, 1921, by a decree of Patriarch Tikhon and the Holy Synod, all Orthodox Russian churches in Western Europe were temporarily subordinated to Archbishop Eulogius.

In 1922, after the dissolution by a patriarchal decree of the Supreme Church Administration created at the Karlovatsk Cathedral, Metropolitan Anthony, who had been in exile in Serbia since 1920, became, with the consent of the Patriarchal Exarch, Metropolitan Eulogius (Georgievsky), chairman of the Synod Abroad (Russian All-Foreign Church Council) of the Russian Orthodox Church. ... Metropolitan Anthony was the chairman of all foreign cathedrals, starting with Karlovatskiy; he bore the title of "Most Blessed."

[6] For separate private letters of Patriarch Tikhon to the bishops of Finland Seraphim (Lukyanov) and West European Eulogius (Georgievsky) see: VRHD. 1975. No. 115. S. 88-90; Historical archive. 1996. No. 1. S. 92, 93.

[7] Metropolitan Evlogy (Georgievsky Vasily Semenovich, 04/10/1868 - 08/08/1946) - an outstanding church leader and theologian, exarch of Western Europe. Since May 27, 1914 - Archbishop of Volyn and Zhitomir; in 1917-1918 participant of the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church. On December 4, 1918, he was arrested by Petliura and taken to Poland, in September 1919 he returned to Novorossiysk, worked at the VTsU in Novocherkassk and Yekaterinoslav, on January 19, 1920 he emigrated to Serbia. On April 8, 1921, Patriarch Tikhon and the Holy Synod was appointed temporarily administrator of all Russian parishes in Western Europe, and on January 30, 1922, he was elevated by the patriarch to the rank of metropolitan (about the patriarch's "touching letter" to the new metropolitan see: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... . 192). He founded the Orthodox St. Sergius Theological Institute in Paris.

Cipher telegram from the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G.V. Chicherin to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs about the Pope's reaction to the confiscation of church valuables and the arrest of Patriarch Tikhon. May 16, 1922

No. 25-6

Received for decryption

17 / V at 12 h. 10 min.

FROM SANTA MARGERITA LIGURE, NARKOMINDEL, Moscow.

Pizza [r] to the assistant Gasparri on behalf of the Pope asks to release Tikhon, by the way, he offers to buy religious objects taken from churches and leave them as (group 1 pass) from Bishop Tseplyak [1] * cpt and the money will immediately give us paragraph [8] .

It is tempting pt but the transfer of Orthodox church items to Catholics will cause a storm in Russia ptc Answer immediately.

16 / V-22. CHICHERIN

- L. 11. Typewritten copy of that time made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). In the upper left corner, there is a handwritten note: "Arch [iv] P [olit] b [yuro]".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Corrected, in the* Chainlock *document*.

[8] On the work of the high Soviet authorities - the NKID and the NKYu - to conclude an agreement with the Roman throne through the Pope's Secretary of State Cardinal Gasparri on the redemption of Catholic church values, see: GARF, f. A-353, op. 6, d.9, l. 67-rev; d. 23, l. 128-o6. On the negotiations in Genoa between the representative of the Vatican, Prelate Pizzardo, and the Soviet People's Commissar G.V. Chicherin about the property of the Catholic Church in Russia, see: E. Winter Vatican Policy towards the USSR. 1917-1968. M., 1977.S. 68-70.

The draft resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the trial of Patriarch Tikhon, proposed by the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). [7 February 1923]

No. 25-7 [9]

Draft Politburo Resolution

About Tikhon's trial

1) Propose to the anti-religious commission to take measures to end the investigation as soon as possible so that the case can be put to hearing in the last days of March.

2) Limit the number of accused and witnesses to a minimum, so that the process lasts no more than 6 days.

3) To support the charge against Tikhon and his closest associates on four counts:

a) active struggle against the decree on the separation of church and state

b) countering the autopsy

c) opposition to the seizure of church property

d) systematic k [ontr] -p [evolutive] activities

Chairman of the anti [ti] -rel [religious] com [issii] Emelyan Yaroslavsky

- L. 13. Handwritten original on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), autograph. In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a handwritten date "10 / 11-23" *and an incoming number.*

- L. 14. Typewritten copy of that time, certified by the Deputy Secretary of the Politburo MN Burakova. In clause 3, subclauses are given in the letters of the Russian alphabet. After the signature formula, the date "<...> 11-23 years" is given. *In the upper left corner there is a handwritten number of*

the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "7 / II 23". *Above is a stamp about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 48, P. 8 of February 8, 1923 (No. 25-8). Under it is the stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b).*

Notes and Comments:

[9] This draft resolution of the Politburo was drawn up by E. M. Yaroslavsky on the basis of the resolution of the ARC of January 30, 1923, protocol No. 11 (see comment 13 to d. 25).

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on organizing the trial of Patriarch Tikhon. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 48, paragraph 8

of February 8, 1923

MOST SECRET

8.— Proposals of the anti-religious commission: a) about Bobol [10] . b) about Tikhon and c) about Tseplyak [1] * [11] . (t. Yaroslavsky).

b) Accept the proposal of the anti-religious commission to bring the case of Bishop Tseplyak to the Supreme Court in Moscow before the trial of Patriarch Tikhon [12] . Personal responsibility for the political and legal line on Comrade Krylenko, and for the propaganda line on Comrade Yaroslavsky.

c) Accept the proposal of the anti-religious commission to organize the trial of Tikhon [13] in March . To assign personal responsibility for the conduct of this process to Comrades. Rykov, Krylenko and Kalinin.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 12. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 317, l. 11-rev. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the form of Politburo resolutions. At the bottom right is the mailing record: "Extract com. Yaroslavsky (all), Litvinov (a, b), Krylenko (c, 6), Kalinin, Rykov (6) ". *In the* "Materials" *column of the form, document No. 25-7 is indicated, but the document itself is not in the file. L. 2:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Stalin, Tomsky. Candidates: com. Molotov, Kalinin. Member of the Central Committee t. Chubar, IN Smirnov, Yaroslavsky. Members of the Central Control Commission t. Shkiryatov, Solts. Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars t. Tsyurupa.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Corrected hereinafter in document* Chicken.

[10] The draft minutes of the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) recorded the following decision on point 8 a) "On Bobol": "To confirm the decisions of the Politburo dated 18/1 p. (Pr [report] 44, p. 8) (see: APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 313, l. 10. - *Comp.)* on the question of transferring the relics of Bobol to the Vatican and the need to put transmission in such a way that it was used in the interests of anti-religious propaganda "(APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 317, fol. 11 - rev.).

Based on the materials of the four published thematic cases of the Politburo Foundation, the country's top party leadership paid special attention in 1922-1923. the relics of two saints of God - Catholic Andrew Boboli and Orthodox Barnabas Vetluzhsky (see No. 23-38 - 23-40). The "anti-religious war" against the relics of saints especially revered by the faithful, officially declared by the decree of the People's Commissariat of Justice of February 14, 1919, resulted in a long campaign with numerous church trials throughout the country. It should be noted that the first autopsy of the relics with an anti-religious purpose took place on October 22, 1918 in the Alexander-Svirsky Monastery, and at the latest, noted by the researchers and fitting into the indicated campaign, at the end of 1929 - early 1930 (the autopsy relics of the holy princess Anna Kashinskaya). The turning point in this battle between the Soviet state and the religious feelings of believers should be recognized the publication of the circular of the People's Commissariat of Justice "On the elimination of relics" of August 25, 1920, in which the local authorities called for "the complete elimination of the relics [...], while avoiding any hesitation and half-heartedness in carrying out their events ". The relics of the saints, "liquidated" by the Soviet regime, were ordered to be exhibited in local museums for exposing purposes. From the end of 1921, this campaign was superimposed on another - to confiscate church values. The many-pound silver crayfish, in which the relics of the revered saints rested, became the most attractive object for local commissions for the confiscation of church valuables. In the summer of 1922 it was decided to abolish

the relics of the famous Polotsk Catholic saint Andrei Boboli. The opening of the tomb caused a sharp protest from the Catholics of Petrograd, Ukraine and Belarus. In the archives of the Council of People's Commissars (GARF, f. 130, op. 6, d. 330, l. 45-51, 53-57) a number of telegrams related to this event were deposited. Of the telegrams that came to the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee addressed to M.I. It was adopted on June 26, 1922; its text read: "On June 23 in Polotsk, an autopsy of the relics of Blessed Andrew Boboli was made, and it is supposed to send them to the museum, protesting on behalf of our own and the entire Catholic population of Russia against the committed blasphemy, I ask you to immediately take decisive [measures] to suspend further actions of local authorities and to satisfy the indignant conscience of Catholics." Three other telegrams from Rossony, Volyntsev and Rosits from the parishioners of Catholic churches, received in Moscow on July 9, 10 and 16, 1922, respectively, essentially repeated the contents of the telegram from Archbishop Y. G. Tseplyak. Protesting "against the destruction of religious rites", they characterized the opening of Boboli's relics as "an illegal and blasphemous" act "", asked the Moscow authorities to "protect" and "protect" from "similar crimes", "similar violence", and punish those responsible. 1922 g. signed by the responsible persons of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, a telegram was sent to Vitebsk about “complaints from citizens about the actions of local authorities in connection with the opening of the relics of blessed Andrei Bobol”. The NKVD offered to "urgently inform under what circumstances the autopsy was performed and what was the basis for the protest." Both the Vitebsk and Moscow authorities, most likely, recognized the existence of a counter-revolutionary conspiracy headed by Archbishop Ya. G. Tseplyak as the basis for the protests. As a result, as follows from the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) No. 48, item 8 b) dated February 8, 1923 (No. 25-8), the top party leadership recognized the case of Archbishop Y. G. Tseplyak “in the highest degree important matter "for" staging in the Supreme Court in Moscow. " (For more details, see note 12 to d. 25.) The relics of

blessed Andrei Boboli were urgently taken to Moscow, to the museum of the People's Commissariat of Health. And from there, due to the sharply negative reaction of the public of Catholic countries, which led to another international scandal (see note 21 to d. 24), by decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), they were transferred to the Vatican in May 1924.

11 The Anti-Religious Commission at its meeting on January 30, 1923 (Minutes No. 11) adopted the following resolutions (for the list of those present and the resolution on Patriarch Tikhon see note 13 to d 25):

“Listened: [...]

2. About the Tsiplyak case ”.

“Resolved: [...]

2. a) The final decision on the case shall be postponed until the next meeting of the Commission, inviting a representative] from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and from Polburo (*Corrected by hand from the originally printed* Politburo; *printed in the draft by* Polburo) - comrade. Holtman (*So in the document, it follows, as in the draft,* Geltman) ".

“Listened: [...]

3. About the relics of Bobal. - "

“Resolved: [...]

3. a) In view of the absence of representatives of the anti-religious commission in the Polburo (*So in the document and in its draft.)* When deciding on this issue of representatives of the anti-religious commission, ask the Politburo to reconsider the decision in the presence of a representative of the commission. -

b) To ask the Politburo, if the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs raises questions concerning tactics in the field of religious organization, to invite a representative of the commission to the meetings.

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 2; ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 24 (draft).

From protocol X? 12 meetings of the same commission dated February 6, 1923:

“Attended by: com. YAROSLAVSKY, POPOV (*Written by hand, not in copy no. 443a.)* SMIDOVICH, MENZHINSKY, SKVORTSOV, KRASIKOV, SAMSONOV, TUCHKOV. Those invited in the Tsiplyak case comrades KRYLENKO, LESHINSKY and GONETSKY (*So in the document, it follows* Ganetsky.). On the issue of the Diocesan Administrations - Comrade RAVICH. "

“Listened:

1. About the TSIPLYAK case.

Resolved:

To admit: 1) In the case of Tsiplyak, there are quite enough materials to accuse him of systematic opposition to the measures of Soviet Power. -

2) Politically, setting up this process is extremely necessary along with Tikhon's process. In view of this, the commission considers it necessary to transfer the case to the Verhsud, having appointed for a hearing no later than March in Moscow before Tikhon's trial. -

3) Bring this to the attention of the Politburo and ask to approve the resolution. -

4) On the Catholic clergy: 1) Deliver, in 2 weeks, a report by Comrade Gonetskago on relations with the Vatican and on the possibility of a proposal on the composition of the clergy and their relationship with the Vatican. 2) Instruct Comrade Krasikov to develop a draft of such proposals regarding the composition of the clergy and relationships. - "

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 3; ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 26.

See also # 25-38, comm. 19 to d. 24. The mention of the Tseplyak case in the minutes No. 14 of the ARC meeting of February 27, 1923 and in the minutes No. 15 of March 6, 1923 see comm. 13 to d. 25.

[12] The trial of the head of the Catholics of all Soviet republics, Archbishop Ya.G. Tseplyak, and the Petrograd clergy subordinate to him took place at the end of March 1923. On March 21, 1923, in the Blue Hall of the House of Unions, the judicial board of the Supreme Court, chaired by A. Galkin, began hearing this case. The state prosecutor was the deputy people's commissar of justice and the senior assistant to the prosecutor N. V. Krylenko. The defendants were defended by a Petrograd lawyer

VM Bobrischev-Pushkin and member of the Moscow collegium of defenders NV Kommodov.

After the announcement of the charges brought by the investigation, the interrogation of the accused and the witnesses, the debate of the parties, the last words of the defendants, the judicial collegium on March 25, 1923, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, retired for a meeting. On March 26, at the first hour of the night, the verdict was announced. Of the charges brought by the investigation, the Supreme Court found the defendants guilty in the following.

First, despite the recognition by the "Roman Catholic clergy of Petrograd, led by Metropolitan Roop and Bishop Tseplyak" of the main articles of the decree on the separation of church from state from 23.01.1918 church property, the rights of a legal entity, etc.), the accused Catholic clergy, as the articles of the decree were fulfilled, "began to develop measures to combat the Soviet regime for the lost property and legal rights of the church." Considering the Soviet power to be short-lived, the "leaders of the Catholic clergy" first gave permission to communities to sign property contracts; then, when it became obvious that the Soviet regime was holding out, "Tseplyak, Butkevich and Roop and others began organizing mass opposition" and developed an action plan at preliminary meetings. In particular, Archbishop Ya. G. Tseplyak rejected the "twenty" organized by the government as organs of "undermining

the discipline of believers and the uncontrolled management of church leaders", ordering not to establish such and, accordingly, not to sign agreements on church property with the authorities. The clergy subordinate to him, represented by the priests A.I. Maletskiy, K. Yu. Butkevich, P. I. Yanukovich, A. M. Vasilevsky, S. F. Eismont, E. S. Yunevich, T. Yu. Myatulyanis, L. A. Khvetsko, J. Ya. Troygo, Ts. V. Khodnevich, D. A. Ivanov and L. I. Fedorov forced the believers to abandon the agreements, which led to the closure of a number of churches in Petrograd by the local authorities in December 1922. The delegation sent by believers to Moscow received permission from the People's Commissariat of Justice to open churches for the time of Catholic Christmas. Church councils were asked to sign not contracts, but "simplified receipts." Archbishop Tseplyak concealed the results of the negotiations with the People's Commissariat of Justice, announcing in Petrograd a ban on the opening of churches, thereby misleading the local Soviet authorities and believers. Such a deliberate action by the head of all Catholics led to "open protests against Soviet power."

Secondly, Archbishop Tseplyak, foreseeing the seizure of church valuables, issued an order to all Catholic clergy on 03.01.1922 on the inadmissibility of the seizure. In response to a request from the Yaroslavl priest of Rutkovsky, Archbishop Tseplyak personally forbade him to issue valuables and property inventories to local authorities.

Thirdly, this group of priests, under the leadership of Archbishop Tseplyak, organized political conferences, at which they discussed issues of "the essence of communism," "the program of the Communist Party," etc. The conferences were the place where preparations for the struggle against the Soviet authorities, plans were developed to involve parishioners of Petrograd churches in this struggle. The main initiator of the measures of the struggle of the Catholic clergy against the Soviet regime, approved at the conferences, was prelate K. Yu. Butkevich. He also prepared instructions for the implementation of these measures. Similar prescriptions led to incidents in a number of Petrograd churches: in

the churches of the Assumption of Mary on the First Rot (L.A. Khvetsko, F.F.Rutkovsky, A.P. Pronsketis, J. Ya. Sharnas), St. Casimir on Ushakovskaya Street (C F. Eismont) and others. In addition, K. Yu.

Fourth, the accused Catholic clergy admitted at the trial that the Pope's orders were binding on him both in the field of doctrine and "in relation to seized and nationalized church property, despite the direct opposite of papal directives to Soviet directives." In addition, the Petrograd priests categorically refused to comply with article 121 of the Criminal Code, which prohibits teaching the doctrine to children, saying that they "do not recognize it and will not follow it."

Based on the foregoing, the Supreme Court found the following persons guilty:

1) Ya. G. Tseplyak and K. Yu. Butkevich under Articles 62, 119 and 121 of the Criminal Code;

2) S. F. Eismont, E. S. Yunevich, L. A. Khvetsko, C. V. Khodnevich and L. I. Fedorov under the same articles of the Criminal Code;

3) A.I. Maletskiy, A.M. Vasilevsky, P.I. Yanukovych, T.Yu. Myatulyanis, Ya.Ya. Troygo, D. A. Ivanov, F. F. Rutkovsky, A. P. Pronsketis articles 68-69 (part I), 119 and 121 of the CC;

4) Ya. Ya. Sharnas under Article 78 of the Criminal Code.

In accordance with the penalties provided for by these articles, the Supreme Court sentenced: the first - “to subject to capital punishment - to shoot”, the second - “to imprisonment for a term of ten years with strict isolation and with the defeat of rights under Art. 40 of the Criminal Code for a period of five years ", third -" subject to imprisonment for a period of three years without strict isolation with the defeat of the rights under Art. 40 of the Criminal Code for a period of three years ", the fourth -" subject to imprisonment for a period of six months conditionally and without loss of rights. "

The verdict against Archbishop Ya. G. Tseplyak and prelate K. Yu. Butkevich, who submitted a petition for clemency to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, was "suspended by execution until further notice." "Special order" - a resolution of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, signed by Chairman M. I. Kalinin and Secretary T. V. Sapronov, said that "the actions of citizen Tseplyak established by the court" are "a grave crime" and deserve the punishment that was determined by the court ... However, taking into account that the Catholic religion was oppressed during tsarist times and the execution of the sentence could be misunderstood by the "backward part of the Catholic citizens of the RSFSR", the capital punishment was replaced by "ten years of imprisonment with strict isolation." Regarding Butkevich,

- See: Revolution and the Church. 1923. No. 1-3. S. 102-116.

On the further fate of Archbishop Ya. G. Tseplyak, see also other published documents: No. 25-40, P-175.

[13] The day-to-day party-KGB leadership in the preparation of the trial against Patriarch Tikhon was carried out by the main specialized body for the development of policy regarding religion and religious organizations - the Anti-Religious Commission (Commission for the separation of church from state) under the Central Committee of the RCP (b). The documents on the supervision of the Politburo of this commission itself constitute the published case 12 of the APRF. In addition to the minutes No. 1,2 of the meetings of the Anti-Religious Commission, which are here, its decisions in connection with the preparation of the case of Patriarch Tikhon and subsequent measures are reflected in the following minutes of this commission (November 1922 - April 1924).

Minutes No. 4 dated November 14, 1922

“PRESENTED: com. FLEROVSKY, KRASIKOV, MENZHINSKY, SMIDOVICH, DERIBAS, TUCHKOV, SKVORTSOV, and as an expert comrade BRIKHNICHEV, comrade GALKIN did not appear at the meeting, and comrade BONCH-BRUEVICH arrived at 9 pm. " “They heard: [...] 3. About the TIKHONA case”. “Resolved: [...]

Instruct the GPU to finish the TIKHON case within a month. To recognize it necessary to organize the process and finish it before the cathedral.

To entrust the leadership of the investigation to comrades MENZHINSKY, KRASIKOV and TUCHKOV. "

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 10. Minutes No. 5 dated November 21, 1922

“Attended by: com. POPOV, SMIDOVICH, KRASIKOV, MENZHINSKY, SKVORTSOV, DERIBAS and TUCHKOV. "They listened: [...] 2. About Tikhon's case." “Resolved: [...]

2. To involve comrade LUNIN in the investigation of Tikhon's case. "

- Ibid, l. thirteen.

Minutes No. 11 dated January 30, 1923

“Attended by: com. Smidovich, Popov, Yaroslavsky, Krasikov, Menzhinsky, Skvortsov, Samsonov and Tuchkov, invited on the Tikhon case - Comrade Vol. Agranov and Krylenko ". “Heard: 1. About Tikhon's case. Resolved:

1. a) The trial must be completed before March 25.

b) Note the following points in the investigation materials:

1) the fight against the decree on the separation of church from state,

2) the fight against the opening of the relics, 3) counteraction to the seizure of church values, 4) Systematic counter-revolutionary [ionic] activity.

c) Suggest the Verkhtrib to send the necessary forces for the investigation of this case at the disposal of the GPU.

d) Limit to a minimum the number of accused and witnesses. "

- Ibid, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 2.

Minutes No. 14 dated February 27, 1923

“Attended by: com. Yaroslavsky, Popov, Menzhinsky, Smidovich, Krasikov, Skvortsov and Tuchkov. Invited in the Tikhon case, Comrade Agranov ".

“Listened:

1. About the Tikhon case (report by Comrade Agranov).

Resolved:

1) Take note of the report. The question of the Tikhon case will once again be raised at the next meeting of the Commission, to which Comrade Krylenko will be invited.

2) Remind Comrade Krylenko on the Tsiplyak case, which should be completed with a hearing before the Tikhon trial is staged.

3) Instruct Comrade POPOVU through Ts.K. to issue appropriate instructions to the localities about taking appropriate campaigning measures in connection with the Tikhon trial.

4) Instruct him to take measures to send out the theses published in the "Sputnik Communism" ".

- Ibid, l. 6.

Minutes No. 15 dated March 6, 1923

“Attended by: com. Yaroslavsky, Krasikov, Popov, Menzhinsky, Skvortsov, Tuchkov. Those invited in the case of Tsylyak and Tikhon Comrades Krylenko and Agranov ".

“LISTENED: [...]

2. About the case of Tikhon and Tsiplyak. (Report by Comrade Krylenko) ".

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

1) To appoint Tikhon's case for hearing on March 25 and end on March 30.

2) Instruct Comrade POPOV through agitpropagad. The Central Committee of the RCP to use in the press the most valuable propaganda material on the case of Tikhon and Tsiplyak.

3) Instruct com. Galkin and Krylenko organize the protection of the process and its technical side.

4) To ask the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP to give precise instructions to the court on the punishment, taking into account the international situation. "

- Ibid, l. 8.

Minutes No. 17 dated March 27, 1923

“PRESENTED: com. YAROSLAVSKY, POPOV, KRASIKOV, SMIDOVICH, MENZHINSKY, TUCHKOV and comrade BROYDO ".

“Listened: [...]

4. About Tikhon's case ”.

“Decided: (...]

1. To the next meeting of the commission invite Comrade KRYLENKO for a report on the case.

2. To ask the Politburo that representatives from the anti-religious commission of Comrade Tikhon be included in the special commission on the Tikhon case. KRASIKOV, YAROSLAVSKY and POPOV ".

- Ibid, l. ten.

Minutes No. 18 dated April 3, 1923

“Attended by: com. YAROSLAVSKY, MENZHINSKY, POPOV, KRASIKOV, STARLING, TUCHKOV. Invited on the TIKHON case, comrade KRYLENKO, and on the Muslim question, comrade Krylenko. KORAKHAN and PETERS ".

“LISTENED:

1) About the TIKHON case.

IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:

1) Without prejudging the question of the number of accused now, instruct Comrade AGRANOV to interrogate Metropolitan Sergei of Vladimir and Metropolitan Mikhail of Kiev, as active members of the Synod and Council of 17 g. After that, Comrade KRYLENKO must decide whether they should be involved as accused in the case ...

2) Instruct Comrade POPOVU to conduct through the Central Committee. cost estimate for the TIKHONA process.

3) Instruct Comrade KRYLENKO will attend to the statement of the transcript from the first day of the trial.

4) Instruct com. YAROSLAVSKY and TUCHKOV were assigned to enter the ticket process.

5) To recognize it expedient to involve comrade KRASIKOV as a prosecutor in the case.

6) Consider it necessary to summon Vvedensky and Krasnitsky as witnesses for trial and interrogation.

- Ibid, l. eleven.

Minutes No. 19 dated April 10, 1923

“Attended by: com. YAROSLAVSKY, MENZHINSKY, POPOV, STARLING AND TUCHKOV ".

“LISTENED:

1) About Tikhon's process.

IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:

1) Transfer Tikhon from the Donskoy Monastery to the Internal Prison of the GPU after the indictment was handed over to him, and before transferring to strengthen the security in the monastery.

2) Tikhon's trial to begin at the end of the party congress.

3) Distributed] by Verhsud the tickets for the entrance to the process of Tikhon an [n] must be checked, replaced with new ones of a different color.

- Ibid, l. thirteen.

Minutes No. 20 dated May 4, 1923

“Attended by: com. MENZHINSKY, POPOV, SKVORTSOV, YAROSLAVSKY, SAMSONOV, TUCHKOV.

“LISTENED:

1) Report comrade. Tuchkov on the progress of the cathedral.

IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

4) To admit the delegation of the Council for the removal of the dignity from Tikhon.

To carry out this should be entrusted to GPU ”.

- Ibid, l. fourteen.

Minutes No. 21 dated May 15, 1923

“Attended by: com. YAROSLAVSKY, POPOV, MENZHINSKY, KRASIKOV, SKVORTSOV, SMIDOVICH, TUCHKOV.

“Listened: [...]

2. On the appeal of Tikhon. "

“Resolved: [...]

II. In view of the fact that Tikhon has been defrocked and his signature under the appeal as patriarch would be politically harmful, reject the proposal to appeal. "

- Ibid, l. 15-16.

Minutes No. 22 dated May 22, 1923

"PRESENT: comrades. SMIDOVICH, YAROSLAVSKY, MENZHINSKY, POPOV, KRASIKOV, SKVORTSOV, Tuchkov. INVITED on questions about the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church and the Muslim Congress of Comrades. DEMINSTEIN and PETERS ".

“Listened: [...]

8. Current affairs.

a) about the skiing of Tikhon. "

“Resolved: [...]

a) Offer to reject. "

- Ibid, l. 17-18.

Minutes No. 23 dated June 5, 1923

“Present: com. YAROSLAVSKY, SMIDOVICH, MENZHINSKY, POPOV, TUCHKOV and invited] on the Muslim question comrade. PETERS ".

“LISTENED: [...]

2) About Tikhon ".

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

1) Do not object to Tikhon's writing of a number of articles regarding his attitude to the Soviet power at the present time and about "the conditions in which he is being held in custody ["].

2) Instruct Comrade POPOV ".

- Ibid, l. 22.

Minutes No. 24 dated June 12, 1923.

"PRESENT: comrades. YAROSLAVSKY, MENZHINSKY, POPOV, TUCHKOV ".

“Listened:

1) About Tikhon.

Resolved:

1) Conduct the investigation of Tikhon's case without any time limit.

2) To inform Tikhon that the measure of restraint can be changed in relation to him if: a) he makes a special statement that he repents of the crimes committed against the Soviet power and the working-class workers and peasants and expresses his present loyal attitude towards the Soviet power, b) that he recognized as just the fact that he was brought to trial for these crimes.

c) dissociates itself openly and in a sharp form from all k [ontr] -rev [olutionary] organizations, especially White Guard, monarchist organizations, both secular and spiritual.

d) Express a sharply negative attitude towards the Karlovytsky Cathedral and its participants.

e) Declare your negative attitude to the intrigues of both the Catholic clergy and the Bishop of Canterbury and Patriarch Meletius of Constantinople.

f) express agreement with some reforms in the church area (for example, a new style).

3) In case of consent to release him and transfer him to Valaam (*Inscribed by the hand of E. A. Tuchkov)* courtyard without prohibiting him from church activities. "

- Ibid, l. 24.

Minutes No. 25 dated June 19, 1923

“PRESENTED: com. YAROSLAVSKY, POPOV, MENZHINSKY, LOGINOV, TUCHKOV AND THE INVITED: on the issue of the Muslim Congress - comrade. PETERS ".

“Listened:

1) Consideration of 2 statements of Tikhon.

Resolved:

1) The statement of Tikhon, addressed to the Upper [ovny] Court, shall be multiplied and urgently sent to all members of the P [olit6yu] ro for familiarization.

2) Introduce some amendments in the appeal to the believers.

3) Regardless of these 2 appeals, Tikhon should write the third appeal to the believers, in which, without touching the "renovationists", state the following:

a) Acknowledgment of his crime against the Soviet government and the Working People of Russia.

b) Condemnation of the actions of Anthony Khrapovikhky and others.

c) That Melentius was a protege of England, etc.

d) They will sharply speak out against the Polish government, the Russians and foreign White Guards, who allegedly pushed him to commit a crime against the Soviet government and

e) on the introduction of a new spelling in the church world.

4) All this should be entrusted to Comrade TUCHKOV within five days and report back at the next (*next, the originally printed* meeting) meeting of the commission.

5) The commission considers it possible to change the measure of restraint for Tikhon.

- Ibid, l. 26.

Minutes No. 26 dated June 26, 1923

“Present: com. POPOV, MENZHINSKY, SMIDOVICH, LOGINOV, LIKHACHEV, TUCHKOV and comrade Krylenko ".

“Listened:

About Tikhon and Tikhonovshchina.

Resolved:

1) a) Tikhon should be released from custody on June 27.

b) The appeal-appeal and refutation of Tikhon instruct to publish Comrades. Popov and Tuchkov.

c) The appeal and appeal must be previously published not in newspapers, but on special leaflets.

d) Instruct the GPU to carry out the gradual liquidation of cases related to the confiscation of valuables, by the appeals of Tikhon, freeing those Tikhonovites from punishment who publicly declare their repentance.

e) With regard to those churchmen who do not wish to repent of their crimes, but will continue their activities in the future, regardless of Tikhon's statements, continue the policy of repression.

f) Instruct the GPU within the next 3 months to review all the cases of the expelled clerics for amnesty for the least harmful of them.

- Ibid, l. 28.

Minutes No. 29 dated July 10, 1923

"PRESENT: comrades. POPOV, MENZHINSKY, LIKHACHEV, SMIDOVICH, TUCHKOV and comrades invited on Catholic issues. Chicherin, Krylenko and Iordansky ".

"Listened: [...]

3. About TIKHONA's case.

"Resolved: [...]

3. a) Postpone the process indefinitely.

b) Those who are] in custody in the case of Tikhon, the remaining 3 arrested persons should be transferred from the internal prison of GPU. to Butyrka prison.

c) In case of their repentance for their crimes, change their preventive measure. "

- Ibid, l. 31.

Minutes No. 30 / a dated July 17, 1923

“PRESENTED: com. POPOV, MENZHINSKY, SMIDOVICH, YAKOVLEVA and TUCHKOV.

“Listened: [..]

2. About Tikhon and his Departments ”.

“Resolved: [...]

2.a) Instruct comrade Tuchkov to tactfully influence Tikhon (*hereinafter,* what was *originally printed is crossed out* so that he does not travel around Moscow. 6) Also.) So that Tikhon gives an explanation through the newspaper and interviews with foreign correspondents that he is really himself wrote appeals and statements of his repentance.

c) To recognize it desirable that the rest of those in custody in the case of Tikhon, as well as he, repent.

d) Tikhon's diocesan administrations should not be allowed for the time being, with the exception of those areas where the renovationists are especially firmly settled.

e) Do not object to the prayer of the Tikhonovites for Soviet Power.

f) To recognize it necessary that Tikhon write a letter to the Bishop of Canterberley about his repentance for his appeals. "

- Ibid, l. 33-34.

Minutes No. 30 dated July 19, 1923

“Attended by: com. POPOV, LIKHACHEV, MENZHINSKY, SMIDOVICH, TUCHKOV and invited on the first question comrade. SALTS ".

“LISTENED:

1) On the early release of churchmen by the Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:

1) The functions of early release of churchmen should be transferred to the anti-religious commission, and the latter must, within 3 weeks, review all the Moscow cases of convicted and administratively exiled churchmen and give its opinion on the application of early release to some of them.

“LISTENED: [...]

2) About the cinematic picture "Tikhon after repentance" ".

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

2) Immediately confiscate the picture and investigate who exactly allowed this picture to be shown. "

“LISTENED: [...]

3) About the appeal of Tikhon. "

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

3) The appeal in such edition should not be allowed to be published. Allow for publication, provided that there is a change of edition (*Corrected by hand from the originally printed* edition). "

- Ibid, l. 35.

Minutes No. 33 dated August 5, 1923

“PRESENTED: com. YAROSLAVSKY, MENZHINSKY, TUCHKOV ".

“LISTENED:

1. About Tikhon's trial.

IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:

1. The liberation of Tikhon brought complete confusion to the monarchist and White Guard ranks. 2) It made it possible to identify the most prominent Black Hundreds who are already beginning to move away from Tikhon due to his current attitude to the Soviet power. 3) Strengthened the antagonism of the Tikhonists with the Renovationists and thereby caused a complete church scandal. 4) The irreconcilability of the Renovationists with the Tikhonists, caused by the liberation of Tikhon, brought a form of decay to the church. 5) The beginning of the competition between the Tikhonists and the Renovationists in who of them is more guilty before the Soviets and who benefited it most. 6) The struggle between these two currents has just begun to develop. 7) The trial of Tikhon would now betray the halo of a martyr, which can be completely ripped off from him, by his further cooperation with the Soviet government. 8) It is necessary that [s] over Tikhon sell the threat of the Court to hang.

“LISTENED: [...]

5. About the wrong line taken by the St. Petersburg newspapers in connection with the release of Tikhon. "

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

5. To draw the attention of the Head of] Agitprop to the incorrectly taken line by the St. Petersburg press and party organizers about supporting Tikhon and against the renovationists.

- Ibid, l. 39-40.

Minutes No. 33 of August 14, 1923 (this number indicates two minutes of meetings - of 5 and 14 August 1923).

“PRESENTED: Comrade Cov. YAROSLAVSKY, SMIDOVICH, MENZHINSKY, KRASIKOV, TUCHKOV and invited on the issue of insurance of churches, mosques, etc. Comrade. Efremov (*Handwritten by E. A. Tuchkov)* ".

“LISTENED: [...]

4) On the acceptance of Comrade SMIDOVICH Tikhon ".

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

4) Take note of Comrade Smidovich's information. "

“LISTENED: [...]

8) About the wrong line taken by the St. Petersburg press and some party organizers against the "renovationists" for Tikhon. "

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

8) Instruct Comrade To MENZHINSKY, draw up a circular on this issue (*Handwritten*) for the Party organizations, and send it to the latter for leadership through the (*Handwritten)* Central Committee along the Party line (*Handwritten)* . "

- Ibid, l. 41-43.

Minutes No. 36 dated September 18, 1923

“Attended by: com. Yaroslavsky, Popov, Smidovich, Krasikov, Menzhinsky, Tuchkov. "

“Listened: [...]

2) About Tikhon (report by comrade Tuchkov) ”.

“Resolved: [...]

1) Take note of the report. To recognize it expedient that Tikhon and Co. first of all actually carry out a new style in the church, smash the parish councils and introduce the second marriage of the clergy, for which they should be allowed to publish the magazine. "

- Ibid, l. 46-47.

Minutes No. 38 dated November 13, 1923

“Attended by: com. SMIDOVICH, MENZHINSKY, POPOV, KRASIKOV, SKVORTSOV, TUCHKOV, and invited on the issue of Muslim theological schools Comrades. BROY-DO, PETERS and YAKOVLEVA ".

“LISTENED: [...]

6. Information of the GPU about the churchmen (Tikhon and the Renovationists). "

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

6. Take note. "

“LISTENED: [...]

7. About the prisoners in the Tikhon case ”.

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

7, "To keep them pending consideration of the issue of Tikhon's case and, depending on this, decide the issue of their further detention."

“LISTENED: [...]

9. On the actions of the Glavmuseum, expressed in the presentation of the museum premises to Tikhon, etc. ”.

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

9.— a) Bring the People's Commissariat of Education to the attention, pointing out to the latter the actions of the Glavmuseum, expressed in rendering assistance to Tikhon and the "Tikhonovshchina", which the Glavmusey had no right to do without the knowledge of the relevant authorities. "

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 37-39.

Minutes No. 39 dated November 20, 1923

“PRESENTED: Comrade. Comrade POPOV, KRASIKOV, SKVORTSOV, SMIDOVICH, MENZHINSKY, TUCHKOV.

“LISTENED: [...]

2) On the activities of Tikhon. "

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

2) A) Instruct Comrade TUCHKOVA to lead the new style through Tikhon and cancel the old one.

B) Instruct him to urgently paste and distribute Tikhon's appeal on the introduction of a new style.

- Ibid, l. 43.

Minutes No. 41 dated December 5, 1923

“PRESENTED: Comrade Cov. SMIDOVICH, MENZHINSKY, POPOV, KRASIKOV, STARLES and TUCHKOV.

“LISTENED: [...]

3. About the introduction to Tikhon KRASNITSKAGO.

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

3. Reject ".

- Ibid, l. 46-47.

Minutes No. 41a dated December 12, 1923

“PRESENTED: com. SMIDOVICH, MENZHINSKY, KRASIKOV, POPOV, TUCHKOV.

“Listened:

1) On the sending of a bishop by Tikhon to Poland.

Resolved:

I.a) The bishop [v] should not be sent to Poland either from Tikhon or from the Synod.

6) Instruct comrade Tuchkov to conduct through the Synod and Tikhon the condemnation of the Polish government for the persecution of the Orthodox] Church.

“Listened: [...]

3) About Plato - Metropolitan of America. "

“Resolved: [...]

3. Instruct comrade Tuchkov to carry out Platon's dismissal through Tikhon. "

“Listened: [...]

5) On the directive regarding the implementation of the new style in the field. "

“Resolved: [...]

5. Instruct the GPU to issue, along its line, a directive to the localities so that persons who do not accept the new style should not be subjected to reprisals if this resistance is not of an [ontr] -rev [olyu-tional] nature. "

- Ibid, l. 48.

Minutes No. 43 dated January 12, 1924

“PRESENTED: Comrade Cov. POPOV, SMIDOVICH, KRASIKOV, MENZHINSKY, TUCHKOV.

“LISTENED: [...]

5) Consideration of Tikhon's application to send Ilarion to Warsaw. "

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

5) Refuse. "

“LISTENED: [...]

7) On the release from custody without the knowledge of the Commission by the Verhsud of 3 persons detained in the Tikhon case, namely: Metropolitans NIKANDRA and ARSENIYA and the layman GURIEV.

“IT WAS RESOLVED: [...]

7) In view of the fact that the release of the aforementioned persons is politically harmful - to instruct the GPU to arrest them

immediately and at the next meeting of the Commission raise the question of the TIKHON case in general.

- Ibid, l. 50-51.

Minutes No. 44 dated February 13, 1924

“PRESENTED: com. KRASIKOV, POPOV, SMIDOVICH, MENZHINSKY, YAKOVLEVA, TUCHKOV and those invited on the question of fears [of] prayer houses - comrade EFREMOV.

“Listened: [...]

5. About Tikhon's case and further directives on the issue of the new style and its remembrance at the service.

“Resolved: [...]

5.a) Leave the directives on the new style and not make any concessions.

b) The order made by the NKYu, prohibiting the commemoration of Tikhon, is to remain in force.

c) Suggest Comrade Kurskiy not to give Tikhon fundamental] answers without preliminary discussion by the Commission.

d) Instruct comrade Tuchkov to request Tikhon's case from the court and continue the investigation on it.

- Ibid, l. 52-53.

Minutes No. 49 dated April 8, 1924

“PRESENTED: com. POPOV, MENZHINSKY, KRASIKOV, TUCHKOV ".

“Listened: [...]

7. About the introduction of KRASNITSKY to TIKHON in the Administration. "

“Resolved: [...]

7) Taking into account that the introduction of KRASNITSKY to TIKHON in the Office is politically (hereinafter, the *original printed* very much is *crossed out*), to instruct Comrade TUCHKOV, to do this, and if some verbal influences are not enough, tactfully apply other measures that could have an appropriate effect on Tikhon and his close] bishops. - ".

- Ibid, l. 59-rev.

Cipher telegram from the plenipotentiary in Italy V.V. Vorovsky to the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G.V. Chicherin on the Pope's reaction to the trials of the clergy. March 17, 1923

No. 25-9

decoded] 18 / III-23

From Rome S. secret.

Secondary.

Moscow, CHICHERINU.

Today Gasparri called me, again asked for Tseplyak [14] . Foreign missions here pester the Vatican, inflating the Moscow court, the Vatican is very unhappy with their intervention, preferring to speak directly to us. Gasparri also asked, on behalf of the Pope, to pardon Tikhon. He made it clear that the Pope would be very flattering if this happened precisely at his request, this would induce him to work more energetically and more widely to help Postgol. I learned from Gasparri that the trial was postponed for the 24th. (five groups cannot be deciphered, requested).

17 / III BOROVSKY

- L. 15. Typewritten copy of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: " Arch [iv] p [oolit] b [yuro] ".

Notes and Comments:

[14] See about the trial of the Catholic Archbishop Ya. G. Tseplyak, comm. 12 to d. 25.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the introduction of Deputy People's Commissar of Justice P. A. Krasikov into the Commission for the leadership of church processes. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 60, paragraph 22 of April 5, 1923

No. 25-10

MOST SECRET

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
Comrade's proposal Yaroslavsky on the introduction to the commission for the management of church processes comrade. Krasikov, member of the anti-religious commission of the Central Committee.	Introduce to the commission for the management of church processes Cde. Yaroslavsky and Krasikov.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 52. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), with the printed date of drawing up the extract on March 30, 1923. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "comrade t. YAROSLAVSKY, KRASIKOV ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 60, d.25, l. 16. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s. Above the text of the extract there is a typewritten note *:* " By a survey of the PB members on March 30, 23 ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 329, l. 29. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the form of Politburo resolutions. At the bottom right is the mailing record: "Extract com. Yaroslavsky, Krasikov ". *L. 2:* "Present: 1. Molotov. 2. Tomsk. 3. Kamenev. 4. Zinoviev. 5. Rykov. 6. Kalinin. 7. Stalin. Members of the Central Control Commission: 1. Solts. Members of the Central Committee: Radek. Sapronov. Deputy Chairman of the SNK Tsyurupa ".

Notes and Comments:

[29] In the draft minutes of the Politburo meeting (APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 329, l. 30) there is a note by E. M. Yaroslavsky sent to " Members of PB . to vote]. T. Stalin ", beginning with the following text:" 1) Due to the fact that none of the members of the anti-religious] commission of the Central Committee entered the commission for the management of church processes (*Corrected, in the document* .) her to correct certain shortcomings in the organization of the case (there was not even a transcript of the testimony of the defendants). Therefore, the matter must be rectified by urgently introducing Comrade P.A. Krasikov into this commission.". At the bottom of the record of the voting results: "I vote for the underlined proposal of Comrade Yaroslavsky about Krasikov. I. Stalin "; "For M. Tomsky"; "I am for the introduction of Yaroslavsky himself into this commission. L. Kamenev "; further crossed out "V. Molotov "; "Introduce com. Yaroslavsky and Krasikov. G. Zinoviev. V. Molotov. A.I. Rykov. Trotsky. " At the top left, a handwritten note about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 60 with the date "30.III. 23 ", stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date" 6 / IV-23 " and the incoming number.

Minutes of the meeting of the Commission for guiding the trial of Patriarch Tikhon. April 7, 1923

No. 25-11

C. SECRET.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMISSION ON THE GUIDANCE OF THE GR PROCESS. BELAVINA. from 7th 1923 g April.

Attended by: com. RYKOV, KALININ, YAROSLAVSKY, KRYLENKO.

Listened:Resolved:

1. Postpone the process c. Belavin up to 17 / IV-23

2. Change the measure of restraint from Thursday 12 / IV, subjecting c. Belavin imprisonment.

3. Enter the Financial Committee with a proposal to leave Verkhtrib an additional thousand gold rubles to cover the costs caused by the postponement of the process (from 12 to 17 — IV).

4. To consider it necessary to admit a second public prosecutor in the Belavin case - having designated for this purpose the candidacy of Comrade Krasikov; instruct Comrade Yaroslavsky to find out the possibility of bringing Comrade Skvortsov to participate in the trial as a second public prosecutor, if Comrade Krasikov for health reasons will not be able to speak in the trial [15] .

CHAIRMAN A. I. RYKOV.

- L. 17. Certified typewritten copy of that time. In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: "Central Committee. RCP. Politburo ". *At the end of the title it is written in blue pencil:* "(Patriarch] Tikhon)." *In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a handwritten* date "13 / IV-23" *and the incoming number.*

- GARF, f. 5446, op. 55, d.409, l. 94. Uncertified copy of the same typewritten bookmark. In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: "Sent to P [olit] b [yuro] and <...> [1] *. No. 423/10 / IV-23 ". *Kalinin's surname is underlined in red ink twice.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *The last name of 8 letters is illegible.*

[15] For documents on bringing prosecutors to the trial of Patriarch Tikhon see: No. P-161, P-163.

Cipher telegram from the plenipotentiary representative in Great Britain LB Krasin to the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs MM Litvinov with a request for materials from the trial of Patriarch Tikhon. April 10, 1923

No. 25-12

decrypted 11.4.23.

IN CODE.

From London.

Moscow, LITVINOV.

The executive committee of the independent workers' party on Thursday will consider the issue of Tikhon's trial. I ask you to immediately wire the summary of the prosecution and the contents of the most important documents. This can set the stage for us to prevent the repetition of Tseplyak's story.

10.4.23. POLPED.

- L. 18. Typewritten copy of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Encryption formula by stamp.

Note from the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs GV Chicherin to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to JV Stalin with a proposal "not to impose the death sentence on Tikhon." April 10, 1923, No. 25-13

Comrade STALIN.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP.

Dear Comrade,

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs proposes that the Politburo make a decision in advance not to pass the death sentence on Tikhon. The facts have shown what enormous harm we have caused ourselves by the execution of Butkevich. In America, Senator Bora and his associates were going to create a committee to campaign for the restoration of relations with Russia, but in view of the extremely unfavorable situation created by the execution of Butkevich, they decided to temporarily delay this work and not formalize the committee [1]*. In the coming weeks, Senator Bora will not speak at all in favor of restoring relations with Russia. Bohr's supposed date with Hughes did not take place. In England, as is known, Morel postponed his parliamentary speech in favor of our recognition. The enormous number of resolutions of workers 'organizations received by the workers' party in the English parliament, demanding intercession for Tseplyak and Butkevich, shows how much this cause is being used by our opponents, in particular, moderate socialists and professionalists, for our further depopulation. The announcement of the British radio that France rejects the invitation of Russia to the resumed Lausanne conference in view of the execution of Butkevich requires a cautious attitude towards itself, but in any case it shows England's determination to use this case in the broadest possible way against us. I am not even talking about the fact that in the event of a conflict with Poland, our enemies now possess the most splendid weapons to fan the Polish peasantry against us. Anyone who knows at least the slightest bit of what is happening behind the border posts will attest that in all respects our situation has deteriorated extremely as a result of this

affair. Meanwhile, in the Butkevich case, there is an opportunity to refer to Polish espionage and the connection with aggressive Polish chauvinism.[16] . This is not the case in Tikhon's case either. All other countries will see nothing in such a sentence other than sheer religious persecution. The Anglo-Saxon countries, imbued with bigotry from top to bottom, are no less interested in Orthodoxy than in Catholicism; Anglicanism [2] * feels even closer to Orthodoxy. In short, the imposition of the death sentence in the Tikhon case will further worsen our international position in all respects. To pass the death sentence and then to annul it as if under pressure from other states is extremely unprofitable for us and creates an extremely difficult impression. We therefore propose to abandon in advance the very imposition of the death sentence on Tikhon.

With communist greetings

Georgy Chicherin

- L. 23, 24. Typewritten original, signature - autograph. In the upper right corner of l. 23 stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with handwritten date "13 / IV-23 g." and the incoming number.

- G ARF, f. 5446, op. 55, d.409, l. 100-99. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark, no signature. The handwritten version of the APRF copy was typed here.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Corrected by hand above the line instead of the originally typed* cabinet.

[2] * *Corrected by hand above the line instead of the originally printed* Anglo-Canonism.

[16] See about the trial of the Catholic Archbishop Ya. G. Tseplyak and the prelate K. Yu. Butkevich comm. 12 to d. 25. On the international reaction to the execution sentence of the Supreme Court of the RSFSR, see the article by M. Milich "The trial of the Roman Catholic clergy" in the "Litigation" section of the journal "Revolution and Church" (1923. No. 1-3. P. 111-116).

Minutes of the meeting of the Commission for guiding the trial of Patriarch Tikhon. April 11, 1923

No. 25-14 *

Top secret.

MINUTES of the meeting of the Commission to guide the process [1] * Belavin

PRESENTED: comrades. Kalinin, Krylenko, April 11, 1923 Rykov, Yaroslavsky.

IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:

1) The process will be postponed until April 23-24.

2) The old tickets issued for the process shall be canceled, replaced with new ones.

3) The issue of the implementation of clause 2 of the minutes of the meeting of the Commission dated April 7 (on the application of imprisonment to Belavin from 12.IV) to be discussed at the meeting of Paul [it] Bureau 12 / IV [17] .

CHAIRMAN A. I. Rykov.

- L. 20. Typewritten original, signature - facsimile. In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a handwritten date "13 / IV-23" *and the incoming number.*

- G ARF, f. 5446, op. 55, d.409, l. 101. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark, signature - autograph.

Notes and Comments:

The case contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the deputy chairman of the SNK and STO A.I. Rykov, directed

April 11, 1923 signed by A. I. Rykov “in the POLITBURO Comrade STALIN ", with a request to put at the meeting of the Politburo

On April 12, the question “about the imprisonment of Belavin from 12.IV - the moment the indictment was handed over to him” “in view of the disagreement among the members of the Commission for the management of the process of gr. Belavin ". The stamp on the letter reads : " Ow [shenno1 secret ". In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: " Paul [it1bureau ". Here is the stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "13 / IV-23" and the incoming number. (L. 19).

Covering letter of the same typewritten bookmark with a copy of the GARF, f. 5446, op. 55, d.409, l. 101. The letter has an outgoing number with the date "11 / IV". (L. 102).

[1] * *Corrected by hand with ink from the originally printed* ircession.

[17] Resolution of the ARC on this commission for guiding the trial of Patriarch Tikhon (in protocol No. 17 of March 23, 1923), on tickets to the trial (in protocol No. 18 of April 3, 1923) and on the transfer of the patriarch to the internal prison of the GPU (in Protocol No. 19 of April 10, 1923) - see comm. 13 to D. 25.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the rejection of the proposal of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs GV Chicherin "about not passing the death sentence on Tikhon." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 61, paragraph 3 of April 12, 1923

No. 25-15

MOST SECRET .

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
	3.a) 1. Comrade's proposal Reject Chicherin.
	2. To recognize that the Politburo sees no grounds for exceptions in the application of a preventive measure in relation to such processes, and in particular in relation to Tikhon.
3. Questions of the NKID: a) About Tikhon (Comrade Chicherin).	3. Instruct the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Rosta and the newspaper editors, based on all available materials, to raise the campaign, especially emphasizing that Tikhon was not only at the head of the church counter-revolution, but also the counter-revolution of the noble-landowner, that is, against the transfer of land to the peasants. Comrade Yaroslavsky to assign supervision to ensure that this campaign does not violate the secrets of the preliminary judicial investigation.
	4. To oblige the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Rosta, etc. Radek and Yaroslavsky to intensify the necessary counter-agitation in connection with the execution of Budkevich [18] .
b) Letter to Comrade Rakovsky on the NKID (Comrade Chicherin).	b) To postpone the question in view of the absence of comrades from the Ukraine until the Plenum of the Central Committee.
c) About the Danes.	c) Accept the proposal of the NKID under the Danish treaty.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 21, 22. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on April 12, 1923. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "Comrade. CHICHERINU ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 330, l. 4-5ob. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the form of the Politburo resolutions, the column "They listened to" *on a typewriter (fol. 4), the column* "Decided" *by hand in pencil on a separate sheet (fol. 5 - rev.). In clause 3 of the handwritten column, it is written in the same handwriting above the line:* "not only", "ie. e. against the transfer of land to the peasants "; *in the same place in item 4* - "necessary", "by shooting Budkevich". *At the bottom right is the mailing record:* "Extract com. Chicherin (all), Litvinov (v), Daletsky (3, 4), newspaper editors (3), Radek, Yaroslavsky (4) ". *There is no list of those present in the case.*

Notes and Comments:

[18] See comm. 12 to d. 25.

A special clause of the resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the rejection of the proposal of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs GV Chicherin "not to impose the death sentence on Tikhon." To the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 61, paragraph 3 of April 12, 1923

No. 25-16

To instruct the Secretariat of the Central Committee to issue a directive to the Supreme Tribunal to conduct Tikhon's case with all the severity corresponding to the amount of colossal guilt committed by Tikhon.

*- L. 25. Handwritten original, autograph of A. Nazaretyan, assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Certified in the lower right corner with the initials: "*A. N [azaretyan] ". *Above by the hand of AM Nazaretyan of the litter:* " Only for Comrade Stalin ." *Under the text is his own rubbish, referring to the decision of the Politburo, Protocol No. 61, paragraph 3 of April 12, 1923 (No. 25-15).*

In the draft minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 61 of April 12, 1923 (APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 330), there is no record of this resolution, it has been moved to d. 25.

Note from the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs GV Chicherin to the plenipotentiary in Germany NN Krestinsky on the need to conduct an agitation campaign in the case of Patriarch Tikhon. April 13, 1923

No. 25-17

Copies to all plenipotentiaries.

Moscow, April 13, 1923

Comrade KRESTINSKY.

Or his deputy.

Dear Comrade,

As I receive material about church processes, I am informing you of them, continuing my previous letters addressed to you and comrade Vorovsky on the same subject. It is necessary to conduct a preparatory counter-campaign in the Tikhon case in view of the already begun preparatory campaign on the part of our enemies.

Tikhon, by the name of Belavin, who was formerly the chairman of the Yaroslavl department of the Union of the Russian people, during his time in the rank of patriarch, made every effort to turn the entire church apparatus into a counter-revolutionary instrument preparing the overthrow of Soviet power. He did not miss a single case that could be used to fight against Soviet power. We can say that he became the spiritual leader of the counter-revolution. The most striking are his pastoral messages of 1918. In the first message, dated January 19, 1918, Tikhon anathematizes the supporters of the Soviet regime and exhorts the believers "not to enter into any kind of communication with such monsters of the human race." In a widespread address to the Council of People's Commissars on October 26, 1918, Tikhon accuses him of food and fuel difficulties and other national disasters[19] . During the entire time of the intervention, Tikhon was in close contact with our foreign enemies. He rendered all possible support to Denikin and Kolchak. The counterrevolutionary clergy who supported the latter

were associated with him. Anthony Khrapovitsky and Bishop Mitrofan of Novocherkassk, who were under Denikin and fought under the slogan “for the Tsar from the House of Romanov,” were in continuous contact with Tikhon [20] . Tikhon was in touch with the hetman [1]* Skoropadsky and blessed his activities. He was also in touch with the Arkhangelsk clergy, who appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury with the most furious reproaches of the Soviet regime and with a request to leave an English trooper in Arkhangelsk. The same Arkhangelsk spiritual leaders took an active part in leading the formation of partisan detachments. French representatives in Moscow in 1918, headed by Grenard, informed Tikhon about the impending intervention, and he blessed the latter. Following this, he blessed the activities of the so-called "tactical center" and "national center".

The decrees on the separation of church from state and school from church served as a pretext for Tikhon for the most fierce struggle against Soviet power in general. In his circulars and in pastoral messages, he gave a lot of directives with the aim of systematically waging the struggle against Soviet power in this area. The bloody riots in various places were caused by his instructions. Parish councils, created locally, on the basis of Tikhon's circular, were, at his suggestion, headed by a special center “to protect the property and other rights of the Orthodox Church before the government,” which turned into the central apparatus of anti-Soviet propaganda and all kinds of innuendo. The autopsy of the relics also served as a pretext for Tikhon's furious campaign against the Soviet regime.

When, during the famine, the émigré clergy convened a church council in Serbia in Karlovice, uniting church leaders and the most prominent Russian monarchists, Tikhon blessed this council in his own handwritten letter, which recognized the need for the restoration of tsarist power in Russia and the use of hunger, cold and epidemics for this purpose, and who developed in his military-church department plans for a campaign against Russia.

The appeal of February 28, 1922 Tikhon called the confiscation of valuables and sacrilege, referring to the church canon [2] *, forbidden

to give them the Soviet regime, threatening [3] * laymen with excommunication, and clergymen defrocked [21] . Meanwhile, later, an examination of the most prominent churchmen found that these references to the canons were false. This appeal of Tikhon led, during the seizure of valuables, to bloody riots in a number of places.

On the day when he received the news of the execution of Nicholas And at a meeting of the church council Patriarch Tikhon was the memorial service, after which Tikhon publicly declared at the Council that blesses pray in all churches, remembering the former king [22] .

Hopefully before the courier leaves, I still have time to get and attach some documents from the case of Tseplyak and Butkevich [23] and some other materials from the case of Tikhon.

With communist greetings

(CHICHERIN)

- L. 26, 27. Typewritten copy of that time. In the upper left corner of l. 26 handwritten litter: "Arch [iv] p [olit] -b [yuro]".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Fixed in document by* German.

[2] * *Fixed, in document* kakon.

[3] * *Fixed in* crop *document* .

[19] Epistle of Patriarch Tikhon of January [19,] 1918 and address of October 25, 1918, see: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... pp. 82-85 and 149-151.

[20] About Metropolitan Anthony (Khrapovitsky) and Archbishop Mitrofan (Simashkevich) of the Don see comm. 5 to d. 25.

[21] Proclamation of Patriarch Tikhon of February 28, 1922 see No. 23-1.

[22] On the actions of Patriarch Tikhon in connection with the execution of Nicholas II, see: Kravetsky A.G. Sacred Cathedral 1917-1918. about the execution of Nicholas II // Russian Orthodox University ap. John the Evangelist. Scholarly notes. M., 1995. Issue. 1.S. 102-124.

[23] See comm. 12 to d. 25.

Bulletin No. 1 of the VI Branch of the Secret Department of the GPU on sentiments in connection with the trial of Patriarch Tikhon. April 17, 1923

No. 25-18

Top secret.

SUMMARY No. 1.

Both among the Nepmen and in the circles of the former - "radiant aristocracy" the main topic of all conversations in recent years has been the TIKHONA trial. For example [immer], there are rumors that the trial has been postponed due to the anxious mood in Moscow and fear of pogroms; that TIKHON will be sentenced to death, but thanks to the hype that has already begun in the West and diplomatic interventions "abroad", the execution will be canceled; that the whole process was staged, artificially created. There are also rumors about the possibility of riots and demonstrations during the trial with the participation of workers in some factories.

The NEP circles say that the process is delayed due to the fact that the delayed cathedral that before judging should deprive the patriarch rank [24] . They also talk about enhanced security measures that are being taken during the process.

There are also various rumors among the clergy. So on 12/1V, the church elder and priest [yennik] of MECHEV in the church of Nikolo-Putinki on M [scarlet] Dmitrovka [,] said that TIKHON would probably be shot, since they were not even ashamed of the Polish priests.

A member of the Parish Council of the Church of Nikolo-Palaschi ERMAKOV, in a conversation with an unknown lady in mourning during Mass on 13 / IV, said that the persecution of the clergy should soon begin, since the Jewish Pogrom had already taken place in Warsaw, probably we will not sleep, and in general the position of the Bolsheviks' too shaky " [25] . In general, among the population

attending churches, there is a very great interest in the TIKHONA process and its fate. The majority is sympathetic to TIKHON.

As for the cathedral, the secular public is not at all interested in such. The old Tikhonov priests show great interest in him. For example [immer], from a conversation with the deacon [on] of Kazan and the arch [priest] of the Church of Anna in the Preobrazhensky Corner it is evident that the old clergy are dissatisfied with the cathedral.

They say that the VTsU has long appointed its people for it, and the elections are just a diversion for the people. That the council is convened to try Tikhon, to kill the patriarch, and then say that they have fulfilled the will of the people. And they also want to make the Orthodox Church belong not only to the Orthodox, but also to sectarians and other non-believers. In a word, they want to desecrate the temples.

ZAMNACH 6 branches] SOGPU

RIBS. 17 / IV-23 g.

- L. 29. Certified typewritten copy of that time. After the text of the document it is printed: " RE30LYUTSIYA TOV. UNSHLICHTA : com . Rykov, Trotsky, Stalin. "

- G ARF, f. 5446, op. 55, d.409, l. 104. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark.

Notes and Comments:

The case contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the GPU, sent on April 18, 1923, by order of I.S.Unshlikht, to I.V. Stalin, signed by the secretary of the GPU collegium R. D. Yezerskaya. On the letter the stamp: "Top] Secret." In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "5 / VI-23" and the incoming number. (L. 28).

A similar cover letter with the same date and with copies of the GARF, f. 5446, op. 55, d.409, l. 104, 103, made for A.I. Rykov. On the letter is a handwritten note: "Tikhon's case. B [spruce] ". (L. 105).

[24] According to the strong tradition of the Russian state, before the clergy was delivered to a civil court, the church authorities had to defrock him. See comm. 34 to d. 25.

On April [25,] 1923, a numerous demonstration took place in Warsaw against the verdict of the Supreme Court of the RSFSR in the case of the Catholic Archbishop Ya. G. Tseplyak (see note 12 to d. 25); it ended with a Jewish pogrom. During the rally, demands were made to try the communists by field courts, to protect the rights of Poles in Soviet Russia. See: Revolution and Church. 1923. No. 1-3. P. 115; Levitin-Krasnov A.E., Shavrov V.M. Essays on the history of Russian church turmoil. Küsnacht, 1978. Part 2.P. 18 (date indicated: 06.04 1923).

Bulletin No. 2 of the VI Branch of the Secret Department of the GPU on sentiments in connection with the trial of Patriarch Tikhon. April 17, 1923

No. 25-19 *

Top secret.

SUMMARY # 2

The philistine part of the Moscow population - Nepmen, merchants, small intelligentsia, etc., is especially interested in the upcoming TIKHONA trial. All this public is sympathetic to TIKHON and is waiting for active intervention in his business "abroad".

In all public places, bazaars, taverns, and churches, rumors persist about the possibility of riots and the pogrom mood of the workers. Moreover, they try to connect both of these circumstances with the TIKHONA process. -

The priests are very sorry for TIKHON. On [n] r [immer], 6 / IV in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, the priests said in a conversation that TIKHON would be shot. Deacon Kazansky said that TIKHON did nothing wrong to anyone, but only followed in the footsteps of Patriarch Hermogenes. Among all this public, there is a noticeable desire to get into the process.

As for the workers, the attitude of the latter has not yet been finally clarified. From conversations with individual workers, it can be seen that the latter are mostly indifferent to the process. -

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT 6] SOGPU: E. Tuchkov.

April 17, 1923

- L. 30. Certified typewritten copy of that time. After the text of the document it is printed: " RE30LYUTSIYA TOV. UNSHLICHTA : Rykov, Stalin, Trotsky. "

- G ARF, f. 5446, op. 55, d.409, l. 103. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark.

Notes and Comments:

The case contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the GPU, sent on April 18, 1923, by order of I.S.Unshlikht, to I.V. Stalin, signed by the secretary of the GPU collegium R. D. Yezerskaya. On the letter the stamp: "Top] Secret." In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "5 / VI-23" and the incoming number. (L. 28).

A similar cover letter with the same date and with copies of the GARF, f. 5446, op. 55, d.409, l. 104, 103, made for A.I. Rykov. On the letter is a handwritten note: “Tikhon's case. B [spruce] ". (L. 105).

Cipher telegram from the adviser to the plenipotentiary envoy in Germany S.I.Brodovsky to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs with a request for materials from the trial of Patriarch Tikhon. April 19, 1923

No. 25-20

decrypted on April 20, 23

IN CODE.

From BERLIN.

Moscow, NARKOMINDEL.

Send more material on Tikhon's trial, indictment [26] [is] mandatory . Why is the process actually and officially delayed and for how long.

April 19, 23 BRODOVSKY.

- L. 31. Typewritten copy of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Encryption formula by stamp.

Notes and Comments:

[26] See comm. 32 to d. 25.

Note by the chairman of the GPU F.E.Dzerzhinsky to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the postponement of the trial of Patriarch Tikhon. April 21, 1923

No. 25-21

IN THE POLITBURO of the Central Committee of the RCP

I believe that it is necessary to postpone the Tikhon trial in connection with the height of agitation abroad (the Butkevich case) [27] and the need to prepare the trial more thoroughly.

F. Dzerzhinsky

21.IV.23 g.

- L. 33. Certified typewritten copy made on October 30, 1958. In the upper left corner, the typewritten form reproduced the form of the People's Commissar of Railways. In the upper right corner there is a stamp stating that the document belongs to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 62, item 6 with a handwritten date under it: "21.IV.23" *(No. 25-22). Below is the text of the survey results:*

"I think Dzerzhinsky is right.

G. Zinoviev L. Kamenev

Definitely right. Trotsky Stalin

I agree. M. Tomsky M. Kalinin Comrade Rykov - against. "

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.331, l. 14 — rev. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the letterhead of the People's Commissar of Railways, autograph of F.E.Dzerzhinsky; voting record - autographs of those who voted (signed by LB Kamenev - in GE Zinoviev's handwriting) in purple ink (Rykov - secretary's record in blue ink).

Notes and Comments:

[27] See comm. 12 to d. 25.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the proposal of the chairman of the GPU F.E.Dzerzhinsky to postpone the trial of Patriarch Tikhon. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 62, paragraph 6 of April 21, 1923

No. 25-22

MOST SECRET.

LISTENED.	IT WAS RESOLVED.
	6. - Accept.
6. - Comrade Dzerzhinsky's proposal about Tikhon.	a) Postpone Tikhon's trial. b) Prepare the process more thoroughly.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 32. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) of the second half of the 1920s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.331, l. 13. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), issued on April 21, 1923. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "Comrade t. RYKOV, KRYLENKO, DZERZHINSKY ". *Below, under the text of the extract, it is printed:* "Voting results: com. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Stalin - "FOR", comrade Tomsky - "agree", comrade. Kalinin - too, Comrade. Rykov is against. " *On l. 13ob. at the bottom in pencil:* "from pr [otokol] 43" On church processes (about Tikhon). " *There is no list of those present - only the results of the polls are in the file.*

Cipher telegram from the plenipotentiary representative in Finland A.S. Chernykh to a member of the board of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs Ya.S. Ganetsky about the reaction to the trials of the clergy. April 23, 1923

No. 25-23

Deciphered on 24.4.23.

IN CODE.

From GELSINGFORS.

Moscow, GANETSKY.

Finland did little to deal with the Ciepliak case [28] , although the press accurately published our and Polish information, but there was not a single article. People are much more interested in Tikhon's case. In view of the conflicts of the Financial Law with the local Orthodox Church, known to you, it is desirable to have material about Tikhon's attitude to these conflicts [29] .

April 23, 1923 BLACK.

- L. 34. Typewritten copy of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: " Arch [iv] p [oolit] b [yuro] ". *Encryption formula by stamp.*

Notes and Comments:

[28] See comm. 12 to d. 25.

[29] The conflict over the status of the Orthodox Church in Finland flared up in connection with the question of its subordination and its head. Patriarch Tikhon granted this Church the status of autonomous, under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. However, the Finnish government, wishing to break these ties and re-subordinate the Finnish Church to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, sought to remove the Primate of the Finnish Autonomous Orthodox Church.

Church of Archbishop Seraphim (Lukyanov). In Constantinople, for Finland, Herman (Aav) was ordained without tonsure as bishop, who headed the Finnish church organization under the jurisdiction of Patriarch Meletius IV of Constantinople, and Archbishop Seraphim was removed from Finland. After his release, Patriarch Tikhon issued on November 27, 1923, together with the Synod, a decree on the report of Archbishop Seraphim of Finland. In it, the Finnish Church Administration was asked to "find out in relations with the government of the Republic of Finland" the possibility of returning the Orthodox Church of Finland to the jurisdiction of the ROC. This proposal was rejected by the Finnish Church Board. The restoration of communion between the two Churches took place only in 1957.

Note by the Chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (Bolsheviks) E.M. Yaroslavsky to the leaders of the party and government on measures in connection with the postponement of the trial of Patriarch Tikhon. April 24, 1923

No. 25-24

C. Secret.

In [ezma] Urgently.

T.t. KAMENEV, STALIN, TROTSKY, ZINOVIEV, RYKOV, DZERZHINSKY.

Anti-Religious Commission Ts.K.

discussed the decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, has issued during the Congress about the deferral process Tikhon [30] .

The commission agrees with some of the arguments about the postponement of Tikhon's trial, but strongly opposes the postponement of the Church Council.

The Commission asks for approval of the following resolution:

1) Do not postpone the Church Council. Take measures to ensure that the Council speaks out in a spirit of condemnation of the counter-revolutionary activities of Tikhon [31] .

2) Tikhon's process will begin approximately in the middle or in the second half of May. The remaining time should be used for the broadest possible awareness of the foreign press with materials about the counter-revolutionary activities of Tikhon and the attitude of the rank-and-file clergy and the Church Council towards him.

3) To consider the intensive agitation in the countryside in connection with the Tikhon trial undesirable.

4) In addition, the Commission considers it extremely undesirable to resolve such issues without the participation of someone from the

Commission, which was recognized in due time by the Politburo of the Central Committee.

The commission informs the members of the Politburo that it considers it harmful to drag out the case for a very long time, since it gives the enemy an opportunity to play on this delay and develop a frenzied campaign. The Commission also considers more harmful than useful such an excessive literary campaign, such as was in the Socialist-Revolutionary process (which was recognized at the time by the Central Committee).

The Commission has done the following with regard to campaigning:

1) Brochures have been published and Tikhon's indictment with exhaustive material is being distributed [32] .

2) Articles sent out for the provincial press.

3) Articles are given all the time, both for the Moscow and provincial press.

4) Brochures were sent through the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to all embassies with instructions on how to use them in foreign press, Russian and foreign.

5) Articles specially written for the foreign press are sent.

CHAIRMAN OF ANTI-RELIGIOUS COMMISSION Ts.K.

24 / IV-23 Yaroslavl

- L. 35, 36. Typewritten original, signature - autograph. Above L. 35 stamp: "SECRETARIAT of the Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labor and Defense com. KAMENEV "with *handwritten date* " 8 / IX 1923 " *and the incoming number. Here on the left is a handwritten note:* "Received from the registration of documents] of the Central Committee - in September 1928."

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d.118, l. 1-3. Handwritten original on three personal forms of E. M. Yaroslavsky, autograph. There is no date and signature at the end of the document. In the address, after Rykov's surname, Bukharin's surname is crossed out. In point 1) at the end of the text of the document it is written *:* "4 brochures have been published ...".

Notes and Comments:

[30] There are no traces of such a discussion in the minutes of the ARC meetings. According to these protocols, after April 21, 1923, when the Politburo adopted by poll a resolution to postpone the trial of Patriarch Tikhon (see Nos. 25-21 and 25-22), and until April 24, 1923, E.M. Yaroslavsky wrote this note of the ARC meetings It was. In the minutes of the ARC meetings No. 19 dated April 10, 1923 and No. 20 dated May 4, 1923, there is no mention of such a discussion.

Yaroslavsky's cautious allusion to the statutory incorrectness of the Politburo resolution of April 21, 1923, adopted at a time when the XII Congress of the RCP (b) was already sitting in Moscow, from April 17 to April 25, 1923, which, according to the charter, was the supreme body of the party, is characteristic. ... It is not for nothing that Ye. M. Yaroslavsky writes "a resolution of the members of the Politburo of the Central Committee", and not a "resolution of the Politburo," because the old Politburo resigns its powers before the congress, and the new one has not yet been elected.

[31st] Renovation Council 05/03/1923, in pursuance of the instructions of E.M. Yaroslavsky, not only condemned Patriarch Tikhon for counter-revolutionary activities, but also deprived him of his dignity and monasticism. See: Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church. 1923 (Bulletins). M., 1923.S. 9-11; Vvedensky A.I. Why was Patriarch Tikhon deprived of the rank? M., 1923; Levitin-Krasnov A.E., Shavrov V.M. Essays on the history of Russian church turmoil. Part 2.S. 94-122.

[32] "The indictment in the case of citizens: Bellavin Vasily Ivanovich, Fenomenov Nikandr Grigorievich, Stadnitsky Arseny Georgievich and Guryev Petr Viktorovich under 62 and 119 articles of art. Of the

Criminal Code "was printed as a separate brochure (Moscow, 1923), and recently republished according to the text of this brochure in the" Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... " 280). In the investigative case of Patriarch Tikhon, the FSB archive contains materials that served as a source for the creation of the indictment - protocols of interrogations of the accused and witnesses (including the first interrogation of Patriarch Tikhon on May 5, 1922, which was not taken into account in the numbering of the interrogations of the patriarch in the "Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... "), as well as specially requested for the preparation of charges by investigator Ya. S. Agranov documents a number of court cases on resistance to the seizure of church valuables - the cases of the tribunals of Novgorod (Staraya Russa), Ivanovo-Voznesensky, Rostov (Donskoy), Smolensk, Petrogradsky, Moscow, Shuisky, Tula, Vitebsk, Cherepovets, Chuvash, Rybinsky, Kostroma , Gomel, Yaroslavl, Yekaterinburg. Not all the materials collected by the investigation found at least some kind of reflection in the indictment. It will be possible to judge this reliably only when scientists studying the history of the Russian Orthodox Church become aware of the entire volume of the investigative case of Patriarch Tikhon - beyond the 28 volumes traditionally mentioned today. Now we will only note that the very significant reservations made by Patriarch Tikhon in the formula for admitting his guilt and recorded in the case, were completely ignored in the text of the indictment. It appears that A. Ya. Vyshinsky, who signed the conclusion, already in 1923 attached the same meaning to the “queen of evidence” - the unconditional confession of guilt by the accused as in the 1930s. A quite characteristic feature of the legal method of Andrei Yanuaryevich and his colleagues is the skillful construction in the interests of accusation of all kinds of mythical counter-revolutionary "centers", networks of messengers, etc. In general, the future objective historian of Soviet law cannot ignore the extremely important significance of the political and legal doctrines of the communist state, so successfully applied later in 1935-1938. to eliminate the atheist communists themselves, including the directors of the failed trial of the patriarch.

In the case of Patriarch Tikhon, the FSB archives also contain draft materials for the preparation of the indictment, including handwritten editing of the typewritten text, and in the files of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) in the RCKHIDNI - materials of the discussion of this document, comments on it by E.M. Yaroslavsky and other members commission. A typewritten copy of the indictment, signed by the hand of A. Ya. Vyshinsky, has survived, and in the archives of the A. I. Rykov Secretariat of the Administrative Department of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR - with the correction of the text by the hand of the Chairman of the Politburo Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) for guiding the process over Patriarch A. I. Tikhon Rykov (GARF, f. 5446, op. 55, d. 409, l. 88-1).

In general, this extensive conclusion is characterized by a skillful mixing of the actual facts of the patriarch's sharply accusatory assessments of the atheist power (especially in 1917-1918) with the suppression or qualification as a hypocritical deception of all the attempts of the patriarch of 1919-1921. to bring the church out of political confrontation, to find the foundations of the legal existence of the ROC in the Soviet state. From the same position, the prosecution sets out the history of the church's attempts to organize effective aid to the starving in 1921 - early 1922: the main proclamations and documents of the church on this issue are either hidden or presented in an extremely biased manner. The fact of discussion in the Politburo and approval of the patriarch's appeal for aid to the starving of February 6, 1922 (No. P-5, P-8) is hidden, although earlier this fact was reported even in leaflets approved by the authorities. In principle, the timid attempts of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and other Soviet bodies to come to some kind of compromise with the leadership of the church for real cooperation in helping the starving are hushed up. The indictment reflected the desire to achieve both goals of the party, which Trotsky wrote about in his program document on anti-religious policy (No. 23-29): the elimination of the "Tikhonov" clergy with the help of the "renovationists" and then the defeat of these latter, while generally overcoming and eradicating "religious prejudices »The population

of the country. The indictment contains both references to anti-Tichon's renovationist "expertise" and the constant persistent equating of religious rites, actions, ideas with counter-revolutionary ones.

The article-by-article consideration of all the falsifying methods of the prosecution is a matter of a special study, and not of this collection of documents. Therefore, we will confine ourselves to only modern assessments of the indictment both by the country's Prosecutor's Office and on the pages of the church publication, published with the blessing of His Holiness Patriarch Alexy II of Moscow and All Russia.

An expert examination carried out by the General Prosecutor's Office of Russia in 1992 established that the acts of the patriarch and his accomplices did not contain corpus delicti, that is, the indictment was declared false.

The publishers of the Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... (editor-in-chief - Archpriest Vladimir Vorobyov, rector of the Orthodox St. Tikhon Theological Institute) characterize the fruit of the joint efforts of the leadership of the Communist Party and the Lubyanka (pp. 732-733):

“The so-called“ Indictment ... ”in the“ case ”of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon and other persons involved with him due to their legal illiteracy, irrepressible and undisguised malice and tendentiousness, sliding towards a deliberate distortion of facts and often to outright brazen lies, is probably an unprecedented act in the history of state law that provides grateful and abundant material for a solid legal, ecclesiastical canonical and historical research that determines the then state of legality in the country.

It seems absolutely impossible to mark and stipulate in brief words all the relevant passages of this act; perversion of reality is found in him literally at every step. For example, suffice it to say that in the heat of zeal, zealous prosecutors placed here as a member of the Council 1917-1918. even ... "Princess Trubetskoy"!

Disregarding all this shameless nonsense, signed by the well-known archprosecutor, and then by the "academician" and the Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Ya. there is one significant moment, reflected in this act, which has a fundamental church-historical significance.

Of the four articles of the Criminal Code brought against His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon as charges: 59, 69, 119, 120, the accused completely rejected Art. 59, and for the other three, his guilt was "recognized" with such substantial reservations that, in fact, nothing remains of the "crimes" incriminated to him. That is, in practice (if we discard all the accompanying demagogy) all these exaggerated and far-fetched accusations by the Patriarch are completely swept aside, and the helpless and pseudo-legal babbling of the accusers is powerless to create at least the illusion of the guilt of their suspect.

The hype of accusations against the Patriarch was soon confirmed by an act that officially appeared from the depths of the state power, in the form of a resolution of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee on the termination of the "case" of Count Belavin. were, of course, not those lyrical motives that were mentioned in the resolution, but the actual absence of corpus delicti, which was taken for granted by the ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical society within the country and was given a corresponding resonance abroad.

Letter from the Chief Commissioner for Assistance to Russia from the Geneva Conference of F. Nansen to L. D. Trotsky with a request not to pass the death sentence in the case of Patriarch Tikhon. April 24, 1923

No. 25-25 *

Lysaker (Norvege),

le 24 avril 1923.

Cher Monsieur Trotski,

Je n'ai pas besoin, je crois, de vous rappeler combien je suis hostile ä toute intervendon dans les affaires interieures d'un pays quelconque, mais j'ai la convicdon que je n'agirais pas dans l'interet de la prosperite future de la Russie, si je ne vous demandais pas, par cette note entierement privee, d'user de votre influence personnelle pour sauver la vie du Patriarche Tikhon.

Vous vous rendrez compte qu'en vous adressant cette demande, je n'apprecie nullement l'affaire quant au fond; car non seulement j'en ignore les details, mais encore, il ne m'appartient ä aueun titre d'exprimer une opinion ä ce sujet.

Je ne sollicite pas non plus votre bienveillant appui dans l'interet d'une croyance quelconque, mais uniquement dans l'interet de la Russie ellememe. L'opinion publique du monde ender, ä tort ou ä raison, s'est vivement emue et je crains, si le Patriarche Tikhon est execute, que les diverses organizations qui travaillent actuellement ä la reconstitution de la Russie ne voient leurs efforts gravement compromis, au point de ne plus pouvoir compter sur l'aide du public en vue de la continuation de l'oeuvre qu'ils accomplissent dans l'interet de la Russie.

Vous reconnaitrez, j'en suis sür, que je ne suis nullement un alarmiste, mais je n'ai pu resister ä vous faire part de ma conviction absolue que les consequences que je viens de signaler ne manqueraient de resulter d'une condamnation de l 'infortune Patriarche ä la peine la plus grave prevue par la loi.

Si, au contraire, le Gouvernement des Soviets peut manifester ä son egard un esprit de clemence et de generosite, l'opinion publique sera, j'en suis süt, favorablement impressionee et il en resultera immediatement des consequences heureuses pour les relations internationales de la Russie.

Veuillez agreer, eher Monsieur Trotski, l'assurance de ma haute consideration.

Fritiof Nansen

- L. 47. Typewritten original, signature - autograph. In the upper left corner there is a pencil resolution by L. D. Trotsky: " For the [consideration] of the Members of the Paul [it] Bureau. Trotsky. " *Above it, the hand of the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) AM Nazaretyan:* "Into the circular, for information . A. N [azaretyan] ". *In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Secretariat of the Revolutionary Military Council with the handwritten date* "3 / V-1923" *and the incoming number. Left handwritten label:* "220 / t. 3 / V.23 ".

Translated from French.

Lizaker (Norway)

April 24, 1923

Dear Mr. Trotsky,

I think that I do not need to remind you [,] how hostile I am to any interference in the internal affairs of any country, but I am sure that I would not act in the interests of the future welfare of Russia if I had not asked you, in this completely private letter, to use your personal influence in order to save the life of Patriarch Tikhon.

You will understand, of course, that in sending this request to you, I am by no means assessing the matter on the merits; since not only I do not know its details, but I also cannot express my opinion on this matter in any way.

I also do not ask for your benevolent support in the interests of any religion, but exclusively in the interests of Russia itself. Public opinion around the world, whether or not there are sufficient reasons for this, is deeply agitated and I am afraid that if Patriarch Tikhon is shot [1] *, then the activities of [2] * various organizations that are currently working to restore Russia will be seriously compromised, so that it will be impossible to count on public assistance to continue the work they are doing in the interests of Russia.

You admit, I am sure that I do not want to create unnecessary anxiety, but I could not resist the desire to inform you of my absolute confidence that as a result of the sentence of the unfortunate patriarch to capital punishment foreseen by law, the above consequences will not be slow to emerge.

If, on the contrary, the Soviet Government can show a certain magnanimity in this matter, then the impression this made on public opinion will be favorable and this will immediately lead to happy consequences for the international relations of Russia.

Please accept, dear Mr. Trotsky, the assurance of my highest esteem.

Fridtjof Nansen.

- L. 46. Typewritten copy of the translation of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b).

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the original in French (p. 47), sent on May 4, 1923 “on behalf of Comrade Stalin "" for information "" TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO: Vol. ZINOVIEV, KAMENEV, RYKOV, STALIN, TOMSK . TROTSKY and comrade BUKHARIN "signed by the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A. M. Nazaretyan. On the letter the vultures: "Ow [finished] Secret ", " IN A CIRCULAR ". Above are the notes about the acquaintance, autographs: “ I have not read it , because,

unfortunately, I have not studied French. M. Tomsky ". "Read. G. Zinoviev "," Return to the secretariat. G. Zinoviev ". (L. 45).

The case contains a cover letter of the same content on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the copy of the Russian translation (fol. 46), sent on May 16, 1923 on behalf of and signed by the same persons: "TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU: Com. KAMENEV, RYKOV, STALIN, TOMSK . BUKHARIN. Member [s] of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission comrades. KUIBYSHEV, YAROSLAVSKY . SALTS and Deputy] Chairman of the] STO t. TSURUPE. " On the letter the stamp: " IN A CIRCULAR ". According to the text of the letter there are records of acquaintance, autographs: "I read. M. Tomsky "," t. Bukharin read. 21 / V-23g. E. Sh [erlin] "," L. K [amenev] "," Ya. Rudzutak "," V. Kuibyshev "," Yaroslavsky "," A. Tsyurupa ". (L. 44).

1 * *So in translation, in the original* - executed (exccute) ..

[2] * *Handwritten above the line.*

Cipher telegram from Plenipotentiary Envoy to Czechoslovakia KK Yurenev to Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs MM Litvinov on the reaction to the case of Patriarch Tikhon. April 27, 1923

No. 25-26

decrypted] 28.4.23

IN CODE.

FROM PRAGUE

Moscow, Litvinov.

I learned from quite reliable sources that Cheshpra, together with other states, intends to act on the Tikhon case. The decision to speak in the case of priests [33] was thwarted by Warsaw's tactlessness. This information is not yet subject to disclosure. Details by mail.

27 / IV-23 POLPRED

- L. 40. Typewritten copy of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: " Arch [iv] p [olit] b [yuro] ". *Encryption formula by stamp.*

Notes and Comments:

The file further contains telephone message No. 912 dated May 12, 1923 with a message about the sending of package No. 903 (its contents are not named) from the Secretariat of G.E. Zinoviev to the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RKII (b) on May 5, 1923. The document contains a handwritten note: “From Comrade Zinoviev to receive: 1. Letter from Behrens P [olit] b [yuro] and comrade Trotsky. 2. About Sultan-Galiev - his testimony and his letter. " (L. 41).

[33] See comm. 12 to d. 25.

Note by the chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E.M. Yaroslavsky to the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a request to allow Patriarch Tikhon to declare the decree of the Renovation Council on defrocking. [Between May 4-8, 1923]

No. 25-27

C. Secret.

In [ezma] Urgently.

To the Secretariat of the Central Committee

The anti-religious commission of the Central Committee asks to approve the following resolution:

1) Permit the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to issue an order to the Supreme Court on the admission of the delegation of the All-Russian Church Council to the accused Vasily Bellavin (formerly Patriarch Tikhon) to announce to him the Council's decree on depriving him of his dignity [34] .

2) The decision is urgently reported to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (by phone).

Chairman of the Commission Emelyan Yaroslavsky.

- L. 39. Handwritten original on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), autograph. Dated on the day of the adoption of the resolution by the Anti-Religious Commission (see note 13 to d. 25) and on the day of the announcement of the resolution of the Council to Patriarch Tikhon (No. P-164).

Notes and Comments:

[34] According to the work published by the Renovationist leader, "Protopresbyter" V. D. Krasnitsky, "Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church. 1923 year. (Bulletins) ". (M., 1923, pp. 9-11) the decision on the deprivation of dignity and monasticism of Patriarch Tikhon was adopted by the Renovation Council at the second

meeting on 03.05.23. According to the reports of the Renovationist leaders A.I. Vvedensky, V.D. Krasnitsky and A. Dyakonov a resolution was approved, in the second paragraph of which, in particular, it was decided: "... The Council considers Tikhon to be an apostate from the true covenants of Christ and a traitor to the Church, on the basis of church canons, it declares HIM DEPRIVED AND MONASTERED AND RETURNED TO PREVIOUS PEACE. From now on, Patriarch Tikhon is a layman Vasily Belavin. " Among the renovation delegates, only one vote was cast against such a decision, five people abstained from voting. Having received this resolution of the Renovationist Council, E.A.Tuchkov was quick to report on the success achieved at a meeting of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on 04.05.1923. to d. 25). The chairman of the ARC E.M. Yaroslavsky (No. 25-27) took over the coordination of actions to implement the planned. The announcement of the decision of the Renovation Council to Patriarch Tikhon took place on 05/08/1923 (A.E. Levitin-Krasnov and V.M. Shavrov indicate in their work the date 04.05 1923. See: A.E. Levitin-Krasnov, V.M. Shavrov Essays on the history of Russian church turmoil. Part 2. P. 119-122.) According to the text of the memorandum of the Secretary of Verhsud of the RSFSR given by M. I. Vostryshev in his book "Patriarch Tikhon" (M., 1995, pp. 250-252) S. S. Bykov to the "presiding over the case of Patriarch Tikhon Galkin" everything happened as follows. S. S. Bykov and E. A. Tuchkov transported Patriarch Tikhon from the GPU to the Donskoy Monastery, where at 2:40 pm a deputation of the Renovation Council "in the amount of eight people" appeared. After the announcement by "Metropolitan" Peter (Blinov) and the head of the renovationist VTsU A. I. Novikov of the definition of the renovation council of bishops and the decree of the renovation council itself, Patriarch Tikhon was asked to sign the documents. (The texts of the documents were published by Levitin-Krasnov and Shavrov in the above-mentioned work, pp. 110-115.) When asked by the primate about who did not vote for this resolution at the council, A. I. Novikov replied, "that these were four laymen, one Penza priest and bishop Philip Rybinsky.

" Noticing “That a good half of the bishops who signed the decree were unfamiliar to him, Patriarch Tikhon announced that he had violated the canonical rules when accepting the documents presented to him. In particular, at the Renovationist Council of bishops, none of those present demanded to summon the defrocked patriarch. "What kind of canonists are they?" - Patriarch Tikhon summed up the competence of the renovationist bishops and their decisions. Then he made a "receipt" for "reading the resolutions to him." S. S. Bykov does not cite the text of this "receipt"; it was given in two versions by M. I. Gubonin in the "Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ..." (p. 224): essence. I was not summoned to the Council, as required by the 74th Apostolic Canon, and I was not given the opportunity to justify myself and give an explanation that could change the decree. Patriarch Tikhon (V. Belavin) "and" I read. The council did not summon me, I do not know its competence, and therefore I cannot recognize its decision as legal. Patriarch Tikhon, Vasily Belavin ". The first text was gleaned by M. I. Gubonin from "Proceedings of the First All-Russian Congress or Council of the Union of Church Renaissance" (Toropets, 1925), the second - from the work of Levitin-Krasnov and Shavrov (Part 2. P. 122). Perhaps these texts are "receipts" of Patriarch Tikhon, which he inscribed on two documents. S. S. Bykov in his memo indicates that "Mr. Belavin signed the decree of the Council of Bishops and the Church Local Council." Having received the signatures of the patriarch, “Metropolitan” Peter (Blinov) demanded that the primate (“in view of the impending trial” and “in view of the resolution of the council to remove [...] the patriarchal title and monastic dignity”) take off his priestly clothes. The Patriarch categorically refused to do this. "Metropolitan" Peter and other members of the deputation repeated this demand many times, emphasizing each time the criminal nature of such insubordination, which could cause serious consequences. Renovation deputies protested against the decision of the patriarch to appear before the Soviet court "in the attire of a priest." They considered such "blasphemy" unacceptable, moreover, capable of causing "bloody excesses". The Patriarch, not succumbing

to persuasions and threats, resolutely defended his decision. Having drawn up an act on the refusal to take off the priestly clothes, the deputation was forced to retreat at 3 hours 5 minutes. The act was previously endorsed by the patriarch and all members of the deputation. Following the deputation of the Renovationist Council, the secret organizers of this "action" with the permission of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) - S.

Note by the chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E. M. Yaroslavsky to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on the date for the opening of the trial of Tikhon" [May 10, 1923]

No. 25-28

It is necessary today to decide on the date of opening the trial of Tikhon.

I propose, on behalf of the anti-religious] commission:

"Process b. to appoint Patriarch Tikhon at the beginning of the second half of May. The exact date will be determined by Comrade Galkina together with Comrade Krylenko and Yaroslavsky. "

Yaroslavsky

- L. 38. Handwritten original, autograph. Dated to # 25-29.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the proposal of the chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E. M. Yaroslavsky on the timing of the opening of the trial against Patriarch Tikhon. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 3, paragraph 37 of May 10, 1923

No. 25-29

MOST SECRET.

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
37. - About Tikhon. Comrade Yaroslavsky's statement	37. — Postpone.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 37. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on May 10, 1923. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "To Comrade YAROSLAVSKY."

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.334, l. 50. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the form of Politburo resolutions. At the bottom right is an entry about the mailing: "Extract to comrade Yaroslavsky." *Below is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number. There is no list of those present in the case.*

Note by the Chairman of the Judicial Collegium of the Supreme Court of the RSFSR N.M. Nemtsov to L.D. May 13, 1923

No. 25-30

T. Trotsky

about [t] Nemtsov.

Lev Davidovich!

The Tikhon's trial board was in the dark about the process and asked me to inquire whether it is planned to put this case in the next two months? I apologize for being annoying for a reference character.

Nemtsov.

R. S. Nachalis [s] vacations and people are worried wanting not to be involved in serious matters.

15.V 23

Nemtsov

- L. 43-o6. Handwritten original on the letterhead of the Chairman of the Collegium of the Supreme Court of the RSFSR, autograph.

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter on a memo from the manager of the affairs of the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the RSFSR, sent on May 15, 1923 on behalf of LD Trotsky to IV Stalin and signed by the manager of the Revolutionary Military Council P. Butov. The letter says: “T. An answer was given to Nemtsov in the sense that a certificate is being sent to the Central Committee, upon receipt of which we will inform him. " In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: " Arch [iv] p [oolit] b [yuro] ". (L. 42).

The file further contains a note of the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A.M. Nazaretyan without date with the text: “v. Slinko. It seems sent to all members of the Central Committee. Find out. If not, prepare P [olit] B [yuro] for the

members. A. Shazaretyan] ". For this text there are notes: 1) " Archive p [olit] b [yuro]"; 2) "(resolution] is not recorded in minutes No. 13)". In the draft minutes of the Politburo meeting No. 13 of May 21, 1923 (APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 344) there are no entries on this issue. (L. 51).

Note by the chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E.M. Yaroslavsky to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the conditions for the release from arrest of Patriarch Tikhon. June 11, 1923

No. 25-31

IN THE POLITBURO CC

Comrade STALIN

The following ruling in the Tikhon case is urgently needed:

1) Conduct the investigation of Tikhon's case without any time limit.

2) To inform Tikhon that the measure of restraint can be changed in relation to him, if: a) he makes a special statement that he repents of the crimes committed against the Soviet power and the working-class workers and peasants and expresses his current loyalty to the Soviet power; b) that he recognizes as just the fact that he was brought to trial for these crimes; c) dissociates himself openly and in a sharp form from all counter-revolutionary organizations, especially White Guard, monarchist organizations, both secular and spiritual; d) express a sharply negative attitude towards the new Karlovytsky Council and its participants; e) declare his negative attitude towards the intrigues of both the Catholic clergy (in the person of the pope) and Bishop Meletius of Canterbury and Constantinople;

In case of consent, release him and transfer him to the Valaam Compound, without prohibiting him from church activities.

Chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission Yaroslavsky

June 11, 1923

- L. 49. Certified typewritten copy made on September 12, 1958. In the upper right corner there is a stamp on the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 12, item 9 with a handwritten date under it "14.VI.23" *(No. 25 -33).*

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 343, l. 18. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original, signature and date in the date - autograph of E.M. Yaroslavsky. He also inscribed in paragraph e) above the line: "(in the face of the Pope)." Top *left handwritten note in ink:* "In the circle to the members of the P [olit] Bureau." *Under the address in front of the text in the same ink and handwriting:* "Extract from the minutes of the emergency] meeting [of] the commission for the separation [of] the church [church] from the state] 11.VI.23" [35] . *On the left margin there is a handwritten note in ink, autograph of LB Kamenev: "*Yaroslavsky's written considerations seem convincing to me. For suggestions] Yaroslavsky. L. Kamenev ".*Above is a handwritten mark in pencil, referring to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 12, item 9 of June 14, 1923 (No. 25-33). At the top right is the stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the handwritten date* "16 / VII-23" *and the incoming number.*

Notes and Comments:

[35] There are no materials of this "emergency meeting" of the ARC dated June 11, 1923 in the minutes of the commission. But the operative part of clause 1 of Protocol No. 24 of the next meeting of the ARC dated 12.06.23 contains the entire text cited in the note, but without the insert "(in the person of the Pope)" and with the title of Meletius not as a bishop, but as a patriarch - see comm. 13 to d. 25.

Note by the Chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (Bolsheviks) E.M. Yaroslavsky with the reasons for the proposals on the conditions for the release from arrest of Patriarch Tikhon [June 11, 1923]

No. 25-32

Brief motivation for the proposal about Tikhon.

1) Some step is needed that would justify our postponement of the Tikhon case, otherwise we get the impression that we were frightened by the threats of the White Guard;

2) From conversations with Tikhon it became clear that with some pressure and some promises, he would agree to these proposals;

3) In case of his consent, his statements will also have enormous political significance: they will completely confuse the cards of the entire emigre; they will be a blow to all those organizations that were guided by Tikhon; Tikhon will be a guarantee against the strengthening of the influence of the VTsU; his personal influence will be compromised by his connection with the GPU and his confessions; Tikhon's actions against Bishop of Canterbury, Meletius, Anthony, and the Pope would be a slap in the face, first of all, to the English government and would deprive of any significance in the eyes of European circles of England's action in defense of Tikhon; finally, his consent to at least some reform (he agrees to the recognition of the new Gregorian [Ian] calendar) makes him a "heretic" - an innovator in the eyes of the true Orthodox.

At the same time, the VCC will retain its previous position with a significant decrease in influence.

Emelyan Yaroslavsky

- Sheet 50. Certified typewritten copy made on September 12, 1958. In the upper left corner, the typewritten form reproduced the form of the Central Control Commission of the RCP (b). Dated to No. 25-31

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 343, l. 19-20. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the letterhead of the Central Control

Commission of the RCP (b), autograph of E.M. Yaroslavsky. Above L. 19 handwritten litter: "On the [vestku] PB". *Here are also handwritten notes on voting, autographs of those who voted: 1)* "I propose to put on the agenda of the P [olit] bureau on Thursday - G. Zinoviev"; *2)* "L. Kamenev "; 3) "For Stalin", "Trotsky", "Ya. Rudzutak ".

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the proposals of the chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E. M. Yaroslavsky on the conditions for the release from arrest of Patriarch Tikhon. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 12, paragraph 9 of June 14, 1923

No. 25-33

MOST SECRET.

Listened:	Resolved:
9. About Tikhon, (t. Yaroslavsky).	9. Accept Comrade Yaroslavsky's proposal [36] .

Secretary of the Central Committee:

*- L. 48. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on June 14, 1923. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "*Comrade. YAROSLAVSKY ". *On l. 48ob. below is a handwritten note in pencil:* "Pr [Otokol] 43. On church processes (about Tikhon)."

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 343, l. 17. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the form of the Politburo resolutions. Column "Listened" *on a typewriter, column* "Decided" *by hand. At the bottom right is an entry about the mailing:* "Extract to comrade Yaroslavsky." *Above is the stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with the inventory number. There is no list of those present in the case.*

Notes and Comments:

[36] This proposal of EM Yaroslavsky, see No. 25-31, and for his motivation, see No. 25-32.

Patriarch Tikhon's statement to the Supreme Court of the RSFSR. June 16, 1923

No. 25-34

IN THE SUPREME COURT R.S.F.S.R.

From the detained Patriarch Tikhon (Vasily Ivanovich BELLAVIN).

STATEMENT.

I am submitting this application to the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R. [,] I consider it my duty of pastoral conscience to state the following:

Having been brought up in a monarchist society and being under the influence of anti-Soviet people until my arrest, I was really hostile towards Soviet Power, and hostility from a passive state at times passed to active actions, somehow: an appeal about the Brest Peace in 1918, anathema in the same year, the Authorities and finally an appeal against the decree on the confiscation of church valuables in 1922. All my anti-Soviet actions, with a few inaccuracies, are set out in the indictment of the Supreme Court. Recognizing the correctness of the court's decision to bring me to justice under the articles of the criminal code specified in the indictment for anti-Soviet activities, I repent of these misconduct against the state system and ask the Supreme Court to change my preventive measure, i.e. release me from custody[37] . At the same time, I declare to the Supreme Court that from now on I am not an enemy of Soviet Power. I finally and decisively dissociate myself from both foreign and domestic monarchist White Guard counter-revolutions, -

June 16, 1923

Patriarch Tikhon (Vasily Bellavin)

*- L. 52. Typewritten copy, certified by E. A. Tuchkov on June 19, 1923. In the upper left corner of his hand in a litter: "*Comrade. Stalin. "

- APRF, f. 3, op. 60, d.12, l. 89- Typewritten copy of that time, certified by E. A. Tuchkov.

*- RCKHIDNI, f. 78, op. 7, d. 172, l. 48. Typewritten copy of that time, certified by E. A. Tuchkov. In the upper left corner with his own droppings: "*t. M. I. Kalinin. 20/6. E. Tuchkov ". *In the lower right corner there is a handwritten note: "*Obtained from the GPU. 20 / VI. V. <Sotskov (?)> ". *The word* "anathematization" was *inscribed by EA Tuchkov in the space left in the line.*

- CA FSB. Special archive, d. 1780, v. 27, fol. 15. Typewritten copy of that time, certified by the round official seal of the Supreme Court of the RSFSR and the signature of the assistant to the senior secretary of the Court, Tarasov.

- Published: Acts of His Holiness Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, later documents and correspondence on the canonical succession of the highest ecclesiastical authority. 1917-1943. M., 1994.S. 280-281.

Notes and Comments:

[37] The release of Patriarch Tikhon and his statement to the Supreme Court that he was not an enemy of the Soviet regime gave rise to a difficult problem for the country's punitive authorities: can the canonical commemoration of the patriarch at services in churches and the open announcement of the patriarch "by groups of believers [...] as their spiritual guide. " On September 20, 1923, the Petrograd Gubernia Prosecutor's Office sent a secret inquiry about this to the NKYU, to the 5th "liquidation" department. The document indicated that the church prints were asking for clarification, since the renewal diocesan council was sending out circulars stating that such a commemoration would be considered by the authorities as a "counter-revolutionary action." The Prosecutor General's Office in response warned the believers, that "public commemoration of Tikhon and his open election as their leader may give rise to prosecution under 68 Art. Criminal] Code [eksa] ". This article defines "imprisonment for a term of at least one year" for "harboring and abetting all kinds of crimes provided for by Articles 57-67" (that is, Articles "on counter-revolutionary crimes" - SU. 1922, No. 15. C . 209-211). The letter from the provincial prosecutor's office to the NKYu admitted that in such acts of believers there are no "signs of

a counter-revolutionary character" and that the answer to the believers was given proceeding from the interests of the "Living Church" delivered. " The resolution of PA Krasikov on the document suggested that believers should not be held accountable for these acts alone. This article defines "imprisonment for a term of at least one year" for "harboring and abetting all kinds of crimes provided for in Articles 57-67" (that is, Articles "on counter-revolutionary crimes" - SU. 1922, No. 15. C . 209-211). In the letter of the provincial prosecutor's office to the NKYu, it was admitted that in such acts of believers there were no "signs of a counter-revolutionary character" and that the answer to the believers was given proceeding from the interests of the "Living Church", and also due to the fact that in the case of the patriarch "the acquittal was not delivered. " The resolution of PA Krasikov on the document suggested that believers should not be held accountable for these acts alone. This article defines "imprisonment for a term of at least one year" for "harboring and abetting all kinds of crimes provided for in Articles 57-67" (that is, Articles "on counter-revolutionary crimes" - SU. 1922, No. 15. C . 209-211). In the letter of the provincial prosecutor's office to the NKYu, it was admitted that in such acts of believers there were no "signs of a counter-revolutionary character" and that the answer to the believers was given proceeding from the interests of the "Living Church", and also due to the fact that in the case of the patriarch "the acquittal was not delivered. " The resolution of PA Krasikov on the document suggested that believers should not be held accountable for these acts alone. 209-211). The letter from the provincial prosecutor's office to the NKYu admitted that in such acts of believers there are no "signs of a counter-revolutionary character" and that the answer to the believers was given proceeding from the interests of the "Living Church" delivered. " The resolution of PA Krasikov on the document suggested that believers should not be held accountable for these acts alone. 209-211). The letter from the provincial prosecutor's office to the NKYu admitted that in such acts of believers there are no "signs of a counter-revolutionary character" and that the answer to the believers was given proceeding from the interests of the

"Living Church" delivered. " The resolution of PA Krasikov on the document suggested that believers should not be held accountable for these acts alone.

- GARF, f. 5263, op. 1, d.55, l. 144-rev.

In the same case - the circular of the Renovationist Synod of August 24, 1923, listing the repressions of the state authorities in relation to the patriarch and his supporters as counter-revolutionaries and threats that “the commemoration of the name of Tikhon during divine services is an act that provides an opportunity to bring such persons to criminal liability under Art. ... 68 of the Criminal Code ”.

- Ibid, l. 119 — rev.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the organization of an interview with Patriarch Tikhon "with foreign correspondents." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 14 of July 3, 1923

No. 25-37

Listened:	Resolved:
About Tikhon (Comrade Zinoviev).	Instruct Comrade Yaroslavsky to organize Tikhon's interviews with foreign correspondents in agreement with Comrade Radek.

- L. 54. Handwritten original on the form of the Politburo resolution. Below the text is a handwritten note: " Only for Comrade Stalin ." *In the upper left corner there is a pencil mark:* " Not included in the pr [report] P [oolit] B [yuro] ". *Therefore, in the draft minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 14 of July 3, 1923 (APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 345), there is no record of this resolution, it has been moved to d. 25.*

NN Popov, the deputy chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), proposed a draft resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the case of Patriarch Tikhon and on the Catholic Church. July 11, 1923

No. 25-38

11 / VII

Secretary C.K. R.K.P. t. Stalin.

I ask you to put the following questions at the next meeting of the Politburo:

1) On the directives of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs v in negotiations with the Vatican for the settlement of the legal status of the Catholic Church in the SSR

(specific proposals: 1) to allow group teaching of catechism to Catholic children before confirmation, 2) to seek the replacement of Polish priests by German or Italian ones) agreed with Chicherin .

2) On the further course of the process b. Patriarch Tikhon. (specific proposals: 1) to extend the investigation, 2) not to object to changing the preventive measure and those of Tikhon's co-processors who publicly repent of their crimes) [38] .

N. Popov.

- L. 57. Handwritten original on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), autograph. Date in the upper left corner in pencil. In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a handwritten date "19 / VII-23" *and an incoming number.*

- L. 56. Typewritten copy of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). There is no date in the upper left corner. In the upper right corner there is a typewritten note: "Printed] in I copy]". *On the left margin of the document, opposite paragraphs with specific proposals, there are two handwritten resolutions:* "Accept." *The*

word "catechism " is added *above the line instead of the crossed out* "natekism". *There is no underlined text.*

Notes and Comments:

[38] Proposals on the trial of Patriarch Tikhon and on the legal status of the Catholic Church were discussed at a meeting of the ARC on July 10, 1923, Protocol No. 29, paragraphs 3 and 2; the wording adopted under clause 3 - see comm. 13 to d. 25; under item 2 "Consideration of the draft response to the letter of Pits [c] ardo compiled by comrade. Krylenko "decided:

"2.a) Transfer the project to Cde. JORDANSKY as material for compiling a response to the letter from Pitz [c] ardo.

6) Instruct Comrade Popov put the question of catechizing Catholics on P [olitby] ro Ts.K. RCP ".

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 31.

Attention is drawn to the change in the wording adopted by the ARC on the trial of Patriarch Tikhon "The trial to be postponed for an indefinite time" to the wording "to prolong the investigation" in document No. 25-38.

For the legal status of the Catholic Church and negotiations on this with the Vatican see file 12.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the case of Patriarch Tikhon and on the Catholic Church. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 16, paragraph 42 of July 12, 1923

No. 25-39

MOST SECRET.

Listened:	Resolved:
42. Questions of the anti-religious commission, (Comrade Popov N. N.)	42.1) Accept the following proposals of the anti-religious commission: a) Allow the group teaching of the catechism to Catholic children prior to confirmation; b) to seek the replacement of Polish priests by German or Italian ones. c) Extend the investigation of Tikhon's case and not object to changing the preventive measure and those of his co-processors who publicly repent of their crimes.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 55. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on July 13, 1923. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "Comrade. Popov N. N. "

- APRF, f. 3, op. 60, d.12, l. 97. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the second half of the 1920s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 347, l. 55. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the form of the Politburo resolutions. Column "Listened" *on a typewriter, column* "Decided" *by hand. At the beginning of item 42, 1) the word* "next" *is inscribed above the line in the same handwriting. At the bottom right is a record about the*

mailing: "Extract to comrade Popov NN". *L. 1:* "Present: PB members Kamenev, Tomsky, Stalin. Candidates for membership [s] P / b com. Kalinin, Rudzutak, Molotov. Members of the Central Committee Comrades Pyatakov, Radek, Smirnov, Sokolnikov. Members of the Presidium] Central Control Commission Solts, Kuibyshev. "

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the termination of the case of Patriarch Tikhon and on the "expulsion from the USSR" of the Catholic Archbishop Ya. G. Tseplyak. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 77, paragraph 1 of March 13, 1924

No. 25-40

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
1. - f) About Tseplyak and Tikhon.	1.-f) To recognize as expedient the release of Tseplyak with deportation from the USSR and the simultaneous termination of the Tikhon case. To entrust the execution of this resolution to the Central Executive Committee of the USSR [39] .

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 58. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on March 13, 1924. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "T.t. Chicherin, Litvinov, Yenukidze, Dzerzhinsky, Kursky ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.408, l. 17. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the letterhead: "The Central Control Commission of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)". *The column* "Heard" *initially* read *:* "Comrade Stalin's proposal about Tseplyak and Tikhon," *then the first three words were crossed out. In the column* "Resolved" the *word* "simultaneously" *is written above the line instead of the strikethrough* "equal". *At the bottom right is the mailing record:* "Extract com. Chicherin (all), Litvinov, Yenukidze [1] *, Dz [erzhinsky] mu and Kursky. " *In the lower left corner of the litter in pencil:* "A. Shazaretyan] ". *L. 5:*"Attended by: PB members: comrades. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, Tomsky. PB membership candidates: Comrades Molotov, Rudzutak. Central Committee members: comrades. Andreev, Pyatakov, Rakovsky, Smirnov A.P., Frunze, Tsyurupa. Members of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission Comrades Kuibyshev, Solts, Yaroslavsky ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Further crossed out by* Kurskiy.

[39] See the decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR on this - No. P-174, P-175.

The message of Patriarch Tikhon on the attitude towards the existing state power. April 7, 1925

No. 25-41

By the grace of God, humble Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and All Churches of Russia.

Grace to you and peace from the Lord [1] * and the salvation of our Jesus [2] * Christ [1] *.

In the years of the great civil ruin the will of God, without which nothing in the world [3] * is not performed, the head of Russian [4] * states became Soviet Power [5] *, to assume the heavy responsibilities - the elimination of the terrible consequences of a bloody war and famine.

Entering the government of the Russian state, representatives of the Soviet [6] * power back in January 1918 issued a decree on the complete freedom of citizens to believe in anything and live by this faith. Thus, the principle of freedom of conscience, proclaimed by the Constitution of the USSR, provides every religious society, including our Orthodox Church, the right and the opportunity to live and conduct their religious affairs in accordance with the requirements of their faith, since this does not violate public order and the rights of other citizens. And therefore, in our epistles to the [7] * archpastors [7] *, to the pastors and the flock, we publicly recognized the new order of things and the Workers [8] * -Peasant [9] * Power of [8] * peoples, Government [9] *, [10] * whom they sincerely welcomed.

It is time for believers to understand the Christian point of view that "the destinies of [11] * nations from the Lord [12] * are arranged [13] *" - and to accept [14] * everything that happened as an expression of the will of God [15] *. Without sinning against our faith and the Church, without altering anything in them, in a word - without allowing any compromises or concessions in the field of faith, in civil terms, we must be sincere in relation to the Soviet power and the work of the USSR for the common good, complying with the order of the

external church life and activity [16] * with the new state system, condemning any community with enemies of the Soviet [9] * Power [17] * and overt or secret agitation against it.

As we offer our prayers to send down blessings [18] * of God to work people, united [19] * his power for the common good, we call upon all the beloved children bogohranimoy Russian Church in this present charge of the construction of the general welfare of the people to merge with us in fervent prayer to God to send down help Workers' and Peasants [20] * power in her work for the good of the whole people. And urge parish communities and particularly their executive [21] * bodies of [21] * to prevent any evil-inclinations of people in the direction of anti-government activities, not to nourish hopes for a return of the monarchy, and make sure that the Soviet government did - People [22]* Workers' Peasant [22] * power, and therefore firm and unshakable. We invite selected in the Parish Council of decent people, honest and faithful of the Orthodox Church, nepolitikanstvuyuschih and sincerely disposed to the Soviet [23] * power. The activities of Orthodox communities should be directed not towards politicking, completely alien to the Church of God, but towards strengthening the Orthodox faith, for the enemies of holy Orthodoxy - sectarians, Catholics, Protestants, renovationists, atheists and the like - seek to use every moment in the life of the Orthodox Church to the detriment of to her.

The enemies of the church resort [24] * to all kinds of deceit, coercion and even bribery in an effort to achieve their goals. Suffice it to look at what is happening in Poland, where out of 350 churches and monasteries that were there, only 50 remain. The rest are either closed or converted to churches, not to mention the persecution that our Orthodox clergy are subjected to [25] * there.

Now, with the grace of God, having recovered from illness [26] *, entering again into the ministry of the church of God, we call you, beloved brothers-archpastors and pastors, once again condemning all resistance to the authorities, malicious against it [27] * intentions, rebellions and all against it [27] * enmity - to divide our labor to pacify our flock [28] * and to improve the church of God.

In the consciousness of the duty that lies on us to keep the church life clean, which first of all seeks the salvation of people and the realization of the eternal divine principles in life, we cannot but condemn those who, in oblivion of God, abusing their church position, surrender themselves without measure to human, often rude politicking, sometimes wearer and criminal nature, and because of the debt primatial ministry of our blessed open to special [28] * when we commission charged with the inspection and if necessary, and the removal of the canonical order, from the management of the hierarchs and pastors, koi persist in their delusions and refusing to bring in them repentance before the Soviet Power [29] *, bringing those to the court of the Orthodox Council.

At the same time, [30] * with deep sorrow we must note that some of the sons of Russia and even archpastors and pastors, for various reasons, left their homeland, engaged in activities abroad, to which they were not called, and in any case harmful to our church. Using our name, our ecclesiastical authority [31] *, they create [32] * harmful and [32] * counter-revolutionary activities there. We decisively declare: we have no connection with them, as our enemies claim, they are alien to us, we condemn their harmful activities. They are free in their convictions, but they, in an arbitrary manner and contrary to the canons of our church, act on our behalf and on behalf of the holy church, hiding behind concerns about her [33]* good. The so-called Karlovytsky Cathedral did not bring good to the church and the people, the condemnation of which we again reaffirm, and we consider it necessary to firmly and definitely declare that any attempts of this kind in the future will cause extreme measures on our part, up to the prohibition of priestly services and bringing the council to trial. In order to avoid grave punishments, we call on the archpastors and pastors who are abroad to stop their political activities with the enemies of our people and have the courage to return to their homeland and tell the truth about themselves and the Church of God.

Their actions should be examined. They must give an answer to the Church Orthodox consciousness. We instruct a special commission

to examine the deeds of archpastors and pastors who fled abroad, and in particular the metropolitans: Anthony of the former Kiev, Platon of the former. Odessa, as well as others, and to give an immediate assessment of their activities [41] . Their refusal to submit our appeal will force [34] * we try them in absentia.

Our enemies, striving to separate us from our beloved children entrusted by God to our pastors, are spreading false rumors that at the patriarchal post we are not free to use our word and even our conscience, that we are dominated by imaginary enemies of the people [35] * and are deprived of the opportunity to communicate with the flock , led by us. We declare for lies and temptation all fabrications about our lack of freedom, since there is no power on earth that could bind our hierarchical conscience and our patriarchal word. Fearingly and with great hope, looking at the future paths of holy Orthodoxy, we humbly ask you, our beloved children, to keep the work of God, so that the sons of iniquity will be able to do nothing.

Calling upon the archpastors [36] *, pastors and faithful children the blessing of God, we pray you with a clear conscience, without fear of sinning against the holy faith, to submit to Soviet power not for fear, but for conscience, remembering the words of the apostle: "every soul be submissive to the higher authorities , for there is no power not from God, but the existing powers are established from God "(Rom. XIII, I).

At the same time, we express our firm confidence that the establishment of pure, sincere relations will induce our authorities to treat us with full confidence, will give us the opportunity to teach the children of our flock the law of God, have theological schools for training pastors, and publish books and magazines in defense of the Orthodox faith.

All of you, yes, [37] * will be strengthened by the Lord in devotion to the holy Orthodox faith, the Church and its hierarchy.

Patriarch TIKHON Moscow [38] *, Donskoy Monastery April 7, 1925 [38] *

- L. 61-63. (AND). An uncertified typewritten copy of the time. At the top of each sheet is a typewritten footer: "Ed [actor] Karpachevsky. Moscow, 14 / IV-25, BULLETIN OF CENTRAL INFORMATION OF GROWTH ". *On l. 61 under this entry heading:*

" TIKHON'S PRE-DEATH PROBLEM TEXT OF THE APPEAL HELD ON THE DAY OF DEATH BY FORMER PATRIARCH TIKHONA TO HIS CLOSEST ASSISTANT PETROL METROPOLITAN FOR DISCLOSURE.

THE APPEAL (Given in full) ".

Here, in the upper left corner, is a handwritten note: " For information ". *On l. 63 after the date of the typewritten litter:* "(GROWTH)".

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d.118, l. 1-12. (B). Another uncertified typewritten copy from that time. L. 7 has the title: "Appendix No. 4 [39] * The dying testament of Patriarch Tikhon ." *Here, in the upper right corner, is a handwritten resolution:* "Reduce."

- Ibid, l. 13- Clipping from the Pravda newspaper, April 15, 1925

- Published: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... S. 361-363; Archpriest V. Tsypin. History of the Russian Orthodox Church. 1917-1990. M., 1994.S. 232-235.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ *B.*

[2] * *Corrected by hand from the original printed* jesus.

[3] * nothing *B.*

[4] * *Hereinafter,* Russian *B.*

[5] * power *B.*

[6] * Soviet *B.* 7-8

[7] * Archpastor *B.*

[8] * workers 'and peasants' power *B.*

[9] * ° *Uppercase letters are handwritten from lowercase letters.*

[10] * government *B.*

[11] the fate of *B.*

[12] * Lord *B.*

[13] * s settle down B

[14] * s understand B.

[15] * God's *B.*

[16] * Influencers B

[17] * *B.*

[18] * blessings. B

[19] * uniting B.

[20] * Workers 'and Peasants' *B.*

[21] * executive body *B.*

[22] * people's workers and peasants *B.*

[23] * Soviet *B.*

[24] * *Corrected by hand from originally printed by* resorting.

[25] * *Corrected by hand from originally printed* exposed.

[26] * diseases *B.*

[27] * her *B.*

[28] * *No B.*

[29] * by the power of *B.*

[30] * themes *B.*

[31] * *No B.*

[32] * lead *B.*

[33] * her *B.*

[34] * will force *B.*

[35] * *Inserted by hand.*

[36] * *Added* and *B.*

[37] * *No B.*

[38] * April 7, 1925. Moscow. *B.*

[39] * *Handwritten number* 4 *next to the strikethrough handwritten number* 3.

[40] The published version of the document, owned by ROSTA, is clearly non-church in nature, but this cannot serve as an argument against the authenticity of the message itself. For various versions of the authenticity of this document, see: Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... pp. 757-768. For an opinion about its authenticity, but at the same time about the participation of Metropolitan Peter in its compilation, see: Pospelovsky D.V. Russian Orthodox Church in the XX century. M., 1995.S. 77, 125-129.

[41] 0 Metropolitan Anthony (Khrapovitsky) see comm. 5 to d. 25.

Metropolitan Platon of Kherson and Odessa (Rozhdestvensky Porfiry, 02/23/1866 - 04/20/1934), a member of the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church. In 1920 he emigrated to the USA. By decree of Patriarch Tikhon, he was appointed administrator of Orthodox parishes in the United States. On September 29, 1923, by decree of Patriarch Tikhon, he was appointed administrator of the Aleutian and North American Diocese (which he ruled earlier in 1907-1914). Later, he was appointed to this department by the Karlovtsy Synod. On January 16, 1924, by a decree of Patriarch Tikhon and the Holy Synod, he was dismissed from the administration of this diocese. See also comm. 305 to the application.

Note by the head of the Secret Department of the OGPU TD Deribas to the Assistant General Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) L. Z. Mehlis about the death of Patriarch Tikhon. April 8, 1925

No. 25-42

Secret

Comrade MEHLISU

On April 7, 25, at 23 hours 45 minutes, Patriarch Tikhon died in the Bakunins' hospital in Ostozhenka in the presence of doctors E. N. Bakunina and N. S. Shchelkan, who constantly treated him, and novice Tikhon Pashkevich.

Death occurred from another attack of angina pectoris.

In addition to the listed doctors, Tikhon was advised by professors: V.P. Konchalovsky, K.K. Shervinsky, Pletnev and Konchalovsky's assistant doctor Pokrovsky (who visited Tikhon every day).

On the day of his death, Tikhon, in addition, had a consultation with specialists in the ear, throat and nose from Professor Sverzhevsky and doctors Genkin and Meshchersky.

On the morning of 8.IV. After the preliminary rite, Tikhon was taken by the bishops to his apartment in the Donskoy Monastery, where his funeral was supposed to be. It is desirable that the press limit itself to such a message.

NACHSO OGPU DERIBAS

- L. 60. Certified typewritten copy, made on March 18, 1960. In the upper left corner the typewritten form of the OGPU with the date "8 / IV. 1925 " *and the number* "5500". *In the lower left corner there is a typewritten* note *:* "The original note is in the original minutes of the PB Central Committee." *In the upper right corner there is a stamp on the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 56, paragraph 30 of April 9, 1925 (No. 25-43) with a handwritten date under it:* "8.IV.25".

- *APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.483, l. 46. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original on OGPU letterhead, signature - autograph. Date in the form* "8 / IV. 1925 " *and the number* " 5500 "in *red ink. Below, under the text in the hand of L. Z. Mekhlis, there is a note with the wording of the Politburo resolution:* "1) Don't print the evening. 2) put [it] in the order of correspondence! in a conspicuous place in newspapers [s] for the 9th, limiting ourselves to] those listed] ". *Further crossed out:* "approximately before." *Below is the poll results in his own hand:*

"1) Rykov	
2) Zinoviev	
3) Stalin	per
4) Dzerzhinsky	
5) Kamenev	

Mehlis ".

At the top of the document there is a stamp on belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 56, paragraph 30 of April 9, 1925 (No. 25-43).

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the procedure for publishing a report on the death of Patriarch Tikhon. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 56, paragraph 30 of April 9, 1925

No. 25-43

MOST SECRET .

LISTENED: IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:

By a survey of members of the PB Ts.K. from 8.IV.25

6.-1) Do not print in today's evening papers;

2) in the usual newspaper order, place in a conspicuous place the message in the newspapers for 9.IV., confining itself to notices:

30 [1] * Message from the OGPU about the death of Tikhon.

a) where and in his presence he died,

b) from what disease,

c) who treated. -

Secretary C.K .:

- L. 59. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) in 1925, made on April 8, 1925. Above the text of the extract are the mailing addresses: "Com. Steklov - "News of the TsIK'a", Ulyanova MI - "Pravda", Doletsky - "Rosta", Krumin - "Economic] Life", Smirnov - "Rabochaya Gazeta", Yakovlev - "Cross [yanskaya] gas [eta]" and "Poornota", to Verkhotursky - "Moscow] Rabochiy", Menzhinsky ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.483, l. 45. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), autograph of L. Z. Mekhlis. In subparagraph b) of paragraph 2, the originally written "reason" is *crossed out . Above is a pencil mark referring to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 56, item 30*

with the date "8 / IV. 25 year ". *L. 6:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, Rykov. Candidates: com. Rudzutak, Sokolnikov, Dzerzhinsky, Kalinin. Central Committee members: comrades. Andreev, Antipov, Pyatakov, Bubnov, Tsyurupa, Dogadov, Uglanov, Kviring. Candidates: com. Vareikis, Smilga. Members of the Central Control Commission: comrades. Gusev, Shkiryatov, Yaroslavsky ". *In the draft minutes of the meeting, in the form* "Agenda" *(l. / - 3) and in*"The list of issues ... outside the agenda" *(p. 4) does not have this item* "The message of the OGPU about the death of Tikhon." *In the* "List of Speakers" *(fol. 5) there is no surname of Mekhlis.*

- Ibid, l. 44. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the poll by Politburo members. The column "Date of submission to vote" is *marked with* "7 / IV". *In the column* "Item", in addition to "def [wasp] 6", *added below in pencil* "30" *and purple ink* "8.IV.25 g." *In the column* "Decided" *in item 1, the original text was crossed out:* "issues", *inserted:* "newspapers". *In the column* "Voting results",*where the surnames of all members and candidates for members of the Politburo are typographically typed in alphabetical order, opposite the names of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Stalin and Dzerzhinsky is affixed in red ink* "for". *In the column* "Signature of the voter", *opposite each of these names is indicated:* "(Mehlis)". *All four clerical inscriptions* "(Mekhlis)" *are encircled by a common curly brace and are confirmed by the signature-autograph:* "Mekhlis". In the *column* "To whom to address extracts" the *surname is* "Menzhinsky" *and the label in the lower right corner of the document* "Sent 8 / IV 25 <...> [2] *"*in black ink in a different handwriting. In the lower left corner of the red ink of the litter:* "genuine vote for the attitude] OGPU No. 5500 (archive p / b). 8 / IV.25 ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Corrected by hand from originally printed 6.*

[2] * *The signature is illegible.*

Anti-religious work

At the beginning of the case are documents from 1918-1921. on the attitude towards the clergy and the head of the Russian Church, on local bans on the performance of religious rites, on the implementation of anti-religious points of the party program, on the organization of an autocephalous church in Ukraine and on sectarians (pp. 1 to fol. 10).

Appeal of a group of representatives of the Petrograd, Saratov and Moscow "progressive clergy" to the believers of the Russian Orthodox Church (original edition). May 10, 1922

No. 12-1 [1]

TO THE BELIEVING SONS OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

During the five years of the hard heroic struggle of the workers 'and peasants' government against all the enemies of the Russian working people, our Orthodox Church, through the fault of its ruling hierarchy, was indifferent to the suffering and sacrifices of its children on the battlefields, in epidemics, and in the throes of hunger, which defended their future and your freedom.

The highest church administrators faithfully took the side of the class enemies of the working people, and with their power, with their official authority, kept the younger brothers subordinate to them from sympathy and support for the struggling people.

In the current difficult time of famine, which exterminated millions of citizens, the Russian spiritual servants of world capitalism, through the lips of their fellows, expressed abroad their secret dream of returning power in Russia to the landowners and capitalists under the guise of restoring the royal throne from the Romanovs' house. Inside Russia, through the appeal of Patriarch Tikhon, they tried to make it difficult to help those dying of hunger at the expense of temple values. They tried to raise a popular

uprising and strangle the hated Soviet power with the chains of hunger.

But the broad masses of the people and the majority of the rank and file clergy did not agree to their call; they have been convicted of people's conscience and death of starving [1] * let fall on those of them who wanted to use a national disaster for their political purposes.

We, the undersigned priests of the Orthodox Church, strongly condemn those of our hierarchs and those pastors who are guilty of organizing opposition to the state authorities in helping the starving and in other undertakings aimed at the benefit of the working people.

We consider it necessary to immediately convene a local council to try the perpetrators of the church rupture, to resolve the issue of governing the church and establishing normal relations between it and Soviet Russia.

We call on all believers of the Orthodox Church, of the sacred and secular order, to support our voice with an appeal to the state authorities for the speedy convocation of a local council to build the church and pacify the life of the people.

10 / V.22.

Delegates from the progressive clergy of the Petrograd diocese:

priest Vladimir Krasnitsky

Archpriest Alexander Vvedensky

priest Evgeny Belkov (Tolshemsky)

the psalmist of the church saint [oh] is right [one] m [disciple] Elizabeth Stefan Stadnik

Archpriest Nicholas D ..... [2] *

Saratov Archpriest Sergiy Ledovsky

Moscow diocese, hieromonk S ..... [3] * (Tarasov)

Moscow priest Sergiy Kalinkovsky [4] *

The present appeal was offered for signature to Bishop Antonin. The bishop stated that he agreed with the principles of conversion, but not with the form (not church), which is why he did not sign. This is evidenced by:

Archpriest [priest] A. Vvedensky priest [priest] V. Krasnitsky

priest [ennik] S. Kalinkovsky [4] *

- L. 13. Certified by the secretary of LD Trotsky, MS Glazman, a typewritten copy of that time, made for members of the Politburo. On the text of the document there are records of acquaintance, autographs:

"Read I. Stalin 12 / V-22";

"L. Kamenev ";

M. Tomsky ";

"AND. I. Rykov ";

"AT. Molotov ";

“Read by G. Zinoviev”.

In the date in front of the signature formulas, the year is marked by the hand of M.S. Glazman.

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter sent on May 12, 1922, signed by Leonid Trotsky, to the "POLITBURO TO COMRADE STALIN" with a request to "send successively to members of the Politburo (without making copies)" "for familiarization." On the letter, the stamp: “S. secret. " In the upper left corner, by the hand of JV Stalin, there is a resolution: “To the members of P [olit] B [yuro] (for information). With a request to return to the Secret [Ethny] Department of the Central Committee. 12 / V. I. Stalin ". Below is the stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of

the RCP (b) with the date “12 / V. 1922 g. " and the incoming number. (L. 12).

The file contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), sent between May 12 and 16, 1922 “on behalf of Comrade STALIN "" for information "" Com. Lenin [5] *. Kamenev . Rykov, Tomskiy, Molotov, t. Zinoviev ”signed by the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) AM Nazaretyan. The letter contains the incoming number, which coincides with the number of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the cover letter of L. D. Trotsky (fol. 12), and the label: “incoming [odeyat] 456 / L. 16.V.22 ". (L. 11).

[1] * *Next, 2 lines are hammered - an erroneous repetition of the end of the previous paragraph.*

[2] * *So in the document: the surname was not read when making a copy.*

[3] * *So in the document: the name was not read when the copy was made.*

[4] * *So in the document,* Kalinovsky *follows* .

[5] * *Further crossed out by* Trotsky.

[1] On the preparation of the text of this appeal and the organizational design of the GPU renovation movement, see No. P-105.

For the political decision of the PB to pardon some of those sentenced to death in the Moscow trial in order to strengthen the authority of the new movement, see No. 24-11.

The final version of the appeal was published with the date May 13, 1922: Izvestia of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. 1922 May 14. Editing of the text was made taking into account the remark of Bishop Antonin (Granovsky) about the "non-church form" of the original edition. The final edition has also been published: Levitin-Krasnov A.E., Shavrov V.M. Essays on the history of the Russian church turmoil. Küsnacht, 1978 T. 1. S. 82-84; Regelson L. The Tragedy of the Russian Church. 1917-1945. Paris, [1977]. S. 287-288.

A petition by a group of representatives of the Petrograd, Saratov and Moscow "progressive clergy" to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for pardoning those sentenced to death in the case of Moscow clergy and believers (original version). May 10, 1922

No. 42-2 "

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE VTSIK

The undersigned priests of the Orthodox Church.

Earnest request

I) Among the general mass of the Orthodox clergy, who are dependent on the economically ruling classes, a small group of clergy was born during the five years of the revolution, who found the strength and courage to give their voice about the justice of the struggle of Soviet Russia against its class enemies.

Speaking now to openly serve the Russian people in the matter of pacifying the warring people and uniting all honest citizens for the revival of the homeland, we, the undersigned, appeal with a fervent request for clemency for all those sentenced to capital punishment in the case of Moscow priests.

May the work of mercy mark the beginning of a new period of the Russian Church, may our request for the condemned justly be the beginning of our good influence on Russian life.

BROTHERS.

HEAR OUR VOICE. GIVE PEOPLE LIFE.

10 / V 22 g.

Moscow priest Sergei Kalinkovsky [1] *

Archpriest Nicholas D ..... [2] *

Saratov Archpriest Sergiy Ledovsky

Delegates from the progressive clergy of the Petrograd diocese:

Priest Vladimir Krasnitsky

Petrograd diocese archpriest Alexander Vvedensky

Priest Evgeny Belkov (Tolshemsky)

psalm-reader Stefa [n] Stadnik

Moscow diocese, hieromonk (not legible) [3] *

This appeal was presented to Bishop Antonin. He agrees with his essence, but not with the form (not church), as evidenced by:

Archpriest Al [Alexander] Vvedensky

priest V. Krasnitsky

priest Sergei Kalinkovsky [1] *

- L. 13ob. Certified by the secretary of L. D. Trotsky, M. S. Glazman, a typewritten copy of that time, made for members of the Politburo. Acquaintance records on l. 13 (No. 12-1) refer to this document as well.

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter sent on May 12, 1922, signed by Leonid Trotsky, to the "POLITBURO TO COMRADE STALIN" with a request to "send successively to members of the Politburo (without making copies)" "for familiarization." On the letter, the stamp: “S. secret. " In the upper left corner, by the hand of JV Stalin, there is a resolution: “To the members of P [olit] B [yuro] (for information). With a request to return to the Secret [Ethny] Department of the Central Committee. 12 / V. I. Stalin ". Below is the stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date “12 / V. 1922 g. " and the incoming number. (L. 12).

The file contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), sent between May 12 and 16, 1922 “on behalf of Comrade STALIN "" for information "" Com. Lenin [4] *. Kamenev . Rykov, Tomskiy, Molotov, t. Zinoviev

”signed by the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) AM Nazaretyan. The letter contains the incoming number, which coincides with the number of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the cover letter of L. D. Trotsky (fol. 12), and the label: “incoming [odeyat] 456 / L. 16.V.22 ". (L. 11).

[1] * *So in the document,* Kalinovsky *follows* .

[2] * *So in the document: the surname was not read when making a copy.*

[3] * *So in the document.*

[4] * *Further crossed out by* Trotsky.

A post-telegram from L. D. Trotsky to members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) about the appeal of the group of "progressive clergy" and the tasks of the press. May 14, 1922

No. 12-3

TOP SECRET

P [ochto] -t [message] No. 357

All members of the Politburo of the Central Committee, a copy of the Pravda editorial board, a copy of the Izvestia editorial office

About the appeal of the loyal group of clergy, headed by Bishop Antonin, there is a small note in Pravda; there is nothing in Izvestia. I am afraid that the press will not pay due attention to this document, which, however, will have enormous consequences, in the sense of a complete split between the democratic Svenekhov part of the Church and its monarchically counter-revolutionary elements. Now, of course, we are fully and wholly interested in supporting the Smenovekhovskaya church group against the monarchist, not one iota, of course, deviating from our state principle of the separation of church from state, and even more so from our philosophical materialistic attitude to religion. Now, however, the main <u>political</u>the task is to prevent the Smena Vekhi

clergy from being terrorized by the old church hierarchy. The separation of the church from the state, which we have carried out once and for all, does not at all mean indifference of the state to what is happening in the church, as in a material-social organization, and not as in a community of believers. The top of the church have at their disposal a wide variety of thunders to intimidate the loyal elements. The policy of black ecclesiastical terrorism remained in full force until the last days. Oppositional loyal and progressive elements of the clergy, proceeding partly from a falsely and purely formally understood principle of separation of church from state, partly observing the state's tolerance towards the counter-revolutionary leaders of the church, which went beyond all limits, did not expect that the state would support them as citizens,

One of the tasks of the press in this matter at the present time is precisely to raise the spirit of the loyal clergy, to instill in them confidence that, within the limits of their indisputable rights, the state will not give him offense, although, of course, the state does not at all attempt to regulate purely religious disputes and relationships.

In any case, it is necessary:

1) to give the appeal of Antonin and others a prominent place as a symptom of historical significance.

2) to give in the press in general as much information as possible about the movement in the church, publicizing in every possible way, emphasizing and commenting on Smenovekhov's voices.

3) without hiding our materialistic attitude to religion, not to put it forward, however, in the near future , that is, in assessing the current struggle, to the fore, so as not to push both sides towards rapprochement, but on the contrary, to give the opportunity for the struggle to unfold in the brightest and decisive form.

4) criticism of Smenovekhov's [1] * clergy and the laity adjacent to it should be conducted not from a materialist-atheistic point of view, but from a conventional church-democratic point of view: you are

too intimidated by the princes, you do not draw all conclusions from the dominance of the church monarchists, you do not appreciate all the guilt the official church before the people and the revolution, etc., etc.

5) however, even now there is a need for historical-materialist articles about the Orthodox Church, with the clarification of the main features of its development as a class-class organization (why there was no bourgeois reformation in the Orthodox Church, a binding of the beginning bourgeois reformation in the church and the proletarian revolution in the state, etc., etc.)

6) The Glavpolitprosvet to prepare in every possible way so that all questions, not only of the church, but also of religion, are put squarely, in the most popular publicly available form - in leaflets and oral speeches - in the very near future, when the internal struggle of the church will attract the attention of the broadest the masses and will loosen the soil for the seeds of atheism and materialism.

14 / V 22

L. Trotsky

R. 3. I repeat once again that the editors of Pravda and Izvestia do not realize the enormous historical importance of what is happening in and around the church. Only by the greatest pressure is it possible to obtain an article on this question. Then everything goes back to normal. The smallest Genoese rubbish takes up entire pages, while the deepest spiritual revolution in the Russian people (or, rather, the preparation of this deepest revolution) is relegated to the backyard of newspapers.

L. Trotsky

- L. 16, 17. Typewritten original, the first signature - facsimile, the second - typewritten. On l. 16 under the address of the mailing by the hand of the secretary L. D. Trotsky M. S. Glazman of the litter: "t. Stalin. " *Here in the upper right corner is the stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the*

Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the handwritten date "May 20, 1922" *and the incoming number.*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 2, op. 1, d.27072, l. 1, 2. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark. On l. 1, under the mailing address, a handwritten note: "vol. Lenin ". *Here, on top of the hand of V. I. Lenin, ink droppings:* "See. from. 2 : Steklov and Bukharin. Return ". *In the postscript, VI Lenin underlined in pencil the words:* "The smallest Genoese rubbish takes up whole pages" *and on the left margin there is a sign: "X". Below, the same sign is repeated, and a note is made with a pencil by the hand of V. I. Lenin:* "Right! 1000 times is correct! Down with rubbish! 15 / V. Lenin ". *Below it is NI Bukharin's ink droppings:* "It has already been sent to us. N. Bukharin ". *On l. 1 stamp* "Archives of Comrade Lenin" with*date* "17.V.22". *Here is also a handwritten note:* "Vkh [odeyuschiy] 445 / L. 16.V.22 ".

- Published according to the copy of RCKHIDNI: Izvestia of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 1990. No. 4. S. 196-197.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Fixed, in the* Smonechowski *document* .

V. I. Lenin's note to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) about post-telegram No. 357 from L. D. Trotsky dated May 14, 1922 [About May 15-16, 1922]

No. 12-4 [2]

I think this should not be accepted on behalf of the PBBuro, because then it is necessary to delve into the details, which we cannot. I received this and forwarded it with an addition from myself (in the spirit of: true !!) to Comrade Steklov and Bukharin. This is enough, in my opinion. Trotsky pressed , we do not dispute, in part we even directly support.

This is enough.

LENIN

- L. 14. Certified typewritten copy of the later period. Above, typewritten copy of IV Stalin's note *:* "Put up for discussion in the P [olit] Bureau. Stalin ". *Below is a typewritten note:* "The original is in Lenin's materials." *Further it is attributed by hand:* "(transmitted to IMEL)". *Dated from the note of V. I. Lenin on document No. 12-3 (copy of the RCKHIDNI) and I. V. Stalin's note (No. 12-5).*

Notes and Comments:

[2] These two notes (No. 12-4, 12-5) reflect a different attitude towards the proposals of L. D. Trotsky, set forth in the post-telegram dated May 14, 1922 (see No. 12-3). JV Stalin suggested that they be accepted by the Politburo as a direct directive of the Central Committee, and VI Lenin was against the formalization of the recommended ideological maneuvering. Lenin's point of view won out, although the proposals of Leonid Trotsky undoubtedly had a significant impact on the party's policy on this issue, including directives for the press.

JV Stalin's note to the members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the approval of the post-telegram No. 357 from LD Trotsky dated May 14, 1922 - "as directives of the Central Committee to newspapers." May 16, 1922

No. 12-5 [2]

to all Paul [it] Bureau members

I propose that all six points of Comrade Trotsky's proposal be accepted as a directive of the Central Committee to the newspapers.

I. Stalin

- L. 15- Handwritten original on the letterhead of the secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) I. V. Stalin, autograph. At the bottom of the acquaintance record, autographs:

"To send newspapers not only six paragraphs, but the whole article. L. Kamenev ";

“ Kamenev : It was already sent to newspapers. See title. I. Stalin ";

“ For - G. Zinoviev”;

M. Tomsky ";

"AND. I. Rykov ".

The number, month and the last digit of the year of the date in the form by the hand of I. V. Stalin.

Notes and Comments:

[2] These two notes (No. 12-4, 12-5) reflect a different attitude towards the proposals of L. D. Trotsky, set forth in the post-telegram dated May 14, 1922 (see No. 12-3). JV Stalin suggested that they be accepted by the Politburo as a direct directive of the Central Committee, and VI Lenin was against the formalization of the recommended ideological maneuvering. Lenin's point of view won out, although the proposals of Leonid Trotsky undoubtedly had a significant impact on the party's policy on this issue, including directives for the press.

“Bulletin No. 1 of the 6th branch of the SOGPU for the time from 3 / VIII to 8 / VIII s / y. on the progress of the All-Russian congress of clergy "Living Church" "August 9, 1922

No. 12-6 [3]

Top secret.

printed and sent in 6 copies] to comrades: DZERZHINSKY, TROTSKY, STALIN, UNSHLIKHT YAGODA and SAMSONOV.

The work of the congress was opened with a private meeting of priests and laity on 3 / cIII s / y. The first session was devoted to the clarification of the fundamental questions that had to be resolved by the congress.

In view of the unpreparedness of the Central Committee of the Living Church, it was decided to elect a pre-congress commission, which included the archpriests: TSVETKOV - Smolensk, STRAKHOV - Tver, NOVIKOV - Smolensk, SOLOVIEV - Moscow, and d [r] ugie. The commission has developed an agenda. The agenda is divided into three main questions: 1) the Congress subject to unconditional and immediate consideration, 2) it is desirable to decide by the Congress, but not necessarily, and 3) preparatory to the All-Russian Council. All 14 questions are divided into three departments on the basis of their homogeneity: 1) legal-cononic [1] *, 2) financial and economic and 3) internal management.

The most important questions were included in the first section somehow: 1) the legal status of the church in the RSFSR in general and property law in particular, 2) the fight against counter-revolution (monastic dominance, white episcopate, counter-revolt [olution] in parishes) and 3) marriage law, the second group included [2] *: 1) socio-economic support, 2) about a unified church fund, and finally the third group includes questions: 1) approval of the charter of the "Living Church", 2) development of a plan of church government and 3) creating a frame of shepherds.

The convention opened on August 6th. The first meeting was of a declarative nature, a Presidium headed by KRASNITSKY was

elected, a letter-declaration was unanimously adopted by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee expressing gratitude for the permission to open the congress.

On the 8th, the second meeting of the congress was held, the following issues were put on the agenda: 1) Report on monasticism (lecturer KEDROV), 2) on learned monasticism (lecturer ADAMOV) and 3) the fight against counter-revolution (lecturer KOLOKOLOV). On the first issue, after a short debate, a resolution was unanimously adopted on the closure of city monasteries and the transformation of provincial monasteries into labor communes. On the second issue, a resolution was adopted granting the right to monks to freely relinquish their monastic dignity and transfer [3] * to the white clergy, and admission to the white clergy can be made at the discretion of the Diocesan Administrations.

On question 3, [en] made many speeches, and all of them were clearly hostile to the higher hierarchs and laity, who are currently in the parish councils and are pursuing a reactionary church policy. A resolution was passed demanding a trial of Tikhon and his deprivation of dignity at the Council. This issue was not finally resolved, it was postponed to August 10. Resolutions were adopted almost unanimously, 99 people voted, only three abstained, and then on the last issue of Tikhon's trial.

Currently, a questionnaire of all the participants of the congress is being prepared, the results of which are being clarified no later than August 11th. The mood of the congress is homogeneous; everyone is following KRASNITSKY.

Four bishops, including ANTONIN and Nizhny Novgorod Evdokim, who were elected honorary chairmen of the congress, are participating in the congress as guests with an advisory vote. The congress is also attended by a representative of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Archimandrite YAKOV, a representative of the Old Believers and a Tolstoyan - TREGUBOV.

A bad impression on the congress participants was made by the drunken appearance at one of the meetings of several members of

the Central Committee "Living Church" priest KARPOV, deacon PETROV, Sokolov and others.

The 3rd meeting of the Congress will open on August 10 this year.

HEAD OF THE 6th DEPARTMENT OF THE SOGPU: E. Tuchkov

"9" August 1922.

- L. 19 — rev. Typewritten script, signature and date in date - autograph.

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter sent on August 9, 1922, signed by the Deputy Chairman of the GPU I. S. Unshlikht and the head of the secret department of the GPU T. P. Samsonov "for information" "comrade Stalin. " On the letter, the stamp: " Ow [finished] Secret ." In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: "Living Church". In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "17 / VIII-22" and the incoming number. (L. 18).

[1] * *Fixed on a typewriter line from the original* economic; *follows* - canonical.

[2] * *'Inscribed on the left margin by hand.*

[3] * ° *Further crossed out* for service.

[3] The All-Russian congress of the Living Church was held in Moscow on August 6-17, 1922. The congress opened in the 3rd House of Soviets on Sadovo-Karetnaya in the presence of representatives of 24 dioceses of the Russian Church that recognized the Living Church; the guests at the congress were Archimandrite Jacob from the Patriarch of Constantinople and Archimandrite Paul from the Patriarch of Alexandria. The leading group at the congress was the Moscow organization "Living Church". The chairman of the congress was elected its leader - priest V. D. Krasnitsky, who was proclaimed on August 16 after a prayer service in the Assumption

Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin as the "first protopresbyter" of the Living Church. From the first meeting of the congress, at the request of V.D. Krasnitsky, all monks (including monks-bishops) were removed, after which the congress adopted two harsh resolutions directed against monks and monasticism - all monks were asked to either marry, or to unite in group brotherhoods under the supervision of white living church priests. It was ordered to immediately dismiss all bishops-monks who did not recognize the "Living Church", the question was raised about the removal of the dignity from Patriarch Tikhon. Other resolutions of the congress provided for the expulsion from the dioceses of all opponents of the Renovationist movement with the dissolution of the corresponding parish councils, and allowed the elevation of married priests to the episcopal rank, marriage for former monks, and a second marriage for the clergy. Only supporters of the Living Church were declared full-fledged laity. The congress issued a special resolution on the centralization of church revenues. The "Central Committee" of the living churchmen of 25 people was elected. Diocesan administrations were to consist of seven people: four priests, one psalmist or deacon, one layman and a powerless presiding bishop. The delegates approved the text of a special declaration for believers. At the congress, a split occurred with the group of Bishop Antonin (Granovsky), who did not return to the congress after the first session. The delegation of the congress headed by V.D.Krasnitsky was received by M.I.Kalinin.

See about the work of the congress in the reports of the head of the VI department of the SB GPU EA Tuchkov - No. P-173, P-176.

"Bulletin No. 2 of the VI branch of the SOGPU on the progress of the All-Russian congress of the clergy of the" Living Church "group, during the period from the 9th to the 111th * August this year" August 12, 1922

No. 12-7 [3]

printed and sent in 6 copies], comrades: DZERZHINSKY, TROTSKY, STALIN, UNSHLIKHT, YAGODA and SAMSONOV.

In the previous report No. 1 on the progress of the work of the congress from the 3rd to the 8th of August, it was noted that the mood of the congress was uniform, everyone was following KRASNITSKY. During the reporting period, it is observed that three small currents have formed. The first, consisting of Moscow delegates, who considers the behavior of the KRASNITSKY group to be too left-wing and strives for moderation. This trend is more suited to the policy of ANTONIN. The second stream, consisting mainly of missionary delegates, stands for the inviolability of the cocknons [2*] and there is a third trend, to the left of the KRASNITSKY group, which stands for the exclusion of bishops from the administration and requires an unceremonious attitude towards them. In view of the fact that these three trends have emerged only recently in connection with questions about monasticism and the form of church government, it is not yet possible to indicate precisely the persons who lead these movements, since such have not yet been clearly revealed. In the future, these currents will undoubtedly come to light more clearly and more definitely.

It is characteristic to note that on the sidelines of the congress, some prominent participants, including KRASNITSKY, in a heart-to-heart conversation, are talking that all the resolutions are a show for the authorities, but in reality we are free. Some consider KRASNITSKY's behavior ambiguous and are surprised at his incomprehensible game.

For the reporting period, i.e. From August 9 to 11, there was only one session of the Congress on the issues: 1. about the rights of the laity and 2. about the white episcopate. On the first issue a resolution was adopted that the full layman should be considered as the one who is in the living avhoristicheskom [3] * communicating with his pastor, canonical obedience saves and implements the principles of the Living Church. On the second issue, the adopted resolution is as follows: to ask V.Ts.U. immediately, without waiting for the upcoming council, to open the way to the episcopal rank, to those representatives of the white clergy who are in marriage with their spouses.

The congress will last another five or six days.

HEAD OF THE VI DEPARTMENT OF THE SOGPU: E. Tuchkov

"12" August 1922

- L. 21. Typewritten original, signature and date in the date - autograph.

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter sent on August 14, 1922, signed by the Deputy Chairman of the GPU I. S. Unshlikht and the head of the Secret Department of the GPU T. P. Samsonov “for information” “comrade. Stalin ", with a round official seal of the GPU. On the letter there are stamps: 1) " Top Secret" : 2) "Urgent". In the upper left corner there are handwritten notes: 1) "Living Church"; 2) " Arch [iv] P [olit [b [yuro]] ". In the upper right corner is the stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "17 / IX-22" and the incoming number. (L. 20).

[1] * *Corrected by hand from originally printed* 12.

[2] * *So in the document follows the* canons.

[3] * *So in the document follows the* Eucharist.

Note by I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, member of the Commission on Anti-Religious Propaganda of the Agitprop Department of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), to the head of the Agitprop Department of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A.S.Bubnov, on the results of his trip to the Bryansk province on August 25, 1922.

No. 12-8 *

In AGITPROP P.K.R.K.P.

Comrade A. S. Bubnov, -

Dear comrades.

I am writing in the carriage on the way of the train.

In Bryansk and the province (Bryansk, Bezhitsa (Bryansk Plant), Dyatkovo, Lyudinovo, Pesochnaya) I gave 2 lectures at the Party school and 6 public lectures. Topics: "On the afterlife" (2 lectures) and on the "Living Church" (6 lectures).

The last topic caused an enormous influx of the public - of such strata that do not attend meetings at all. Let me tell you straight: the success is enormous: the local comrades are delighted, there is a great urge in R.K.P. The province is excited to the bottom.

It is necessary to immediately develop such agitation on an all-Russian scale. This is the general conclusion of both mine and all comrades. You should not yawn.

At the beginning of next week I will be with you, then we will agree on what to do. It is wrong that we are still only “helping” the “Living Church”. It is necessary to use this movement in a revolutionary way.

Once again: you can't yawn. The results in the Bryansk province are rare.

With communist greetings - SKVORTSOV-STEPANOV

19/25 / VIII / 22

- L. 23. Uncertified typewritten copy of that time. In the upper left corner there are handwritten notes: 1) " Comrade Stalin ": *2)* "RCP". *In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a handwritten date* "17 / IX-22" *and an incoming number. Below is the stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number.*

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a note with a brief wording of the content of the document: "Skvortsov-Stepanov about his trip to Bryansk." On the note from the litter: " Archive p [oolit] b [yuro] ". (L. 22).

Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on the commission for anti-religious propaganda" (Anti-religious commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)). From the minutes of the meeting of the Orgburo No. 62, paragraph 15 of October 13, 1922

No. 12-9 [4]

ANNEX TO THE MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE POLITBURO of the Central Committee of the RCP dated 19.X.22, No. 32, p. 4.

Listened:

15, - On the Commission for Anti-Religious Propaganda, (Comrade Bubnov).

Resolved:

a) The Commission on Anti-Religious Propaganda under Agitprop, composed of Comrades Skvortsov-Stepanov, Krasikov to expand to include Comrade Menzhinsky from the GPU and Comrade Smidovich, the chairman of the commission on sectarian affairs.

b) The designated commission should be empowered, both for the conduct of church policy affairs (communication with church groups, with the VCU, etc.) for its leadership in the center and at the local level, and the development of directives for printed and oral propaganda and agitation.

c) The Commission to establish close and constant communication with the GPU, the church department of the NKJust and the Agitprop of the Central Committee. This connection is also provided by the personal composition of the commission.

d) From the beginning of the work of this commission, the work of other commissions on church affairs shall be considered completed.

- L. 25. Certified typewritten copy of a later extract.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.301, l. 16, 17. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. A typewritten copy of the extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on October 16, 1922. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "To members of the Politburo, com. Kalinin, Kamenev, Lenin, Molotov, Stalin, Tomsky, Trotsky and comrade. Bubnov. " *Before point a) is the number* "1". *After point d) typed:* "2. To interrogate the opinion of the members of the Politburo on the above decision]. *At the end of the document there is a signature formula:* "Secretary of the Central Committee".

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.378, l. 60 - rev. Typewritten leave of the extract made on October 16, 1922 (the first page of this typewritten bookmark was on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)). Above, a handwritten label: "Agitprop". *A stamp confirming that the document belongs to the office work of the meeting of the Organizing Bureau, minutes No. 62, clause 15 of October 13, 1922.*

Notes and Comments:

[4] The minutes of the meetings of the "Anti-Religious Commission" under the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) No. 1 and No. 2 were revealed (RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 84, d. 309, l. 107, 108-rev .; op. 60 , d. 158, l. 14-ob.). The first meeting on September 25, 1922 was attended by "Krasikov, Popov, Flerovsky (And the Press Department), Galkin (Science and Religion)." At the meeting, it was decided to close the journal Science and Religion and instead "publish anti-religious a newspaper that sanctifies (!) all events inside the church from a party point of view under the People's Commissariat of Justice. "The editorial office of this newspaper was planned to include Krasikov, Galkin and Stepanov.

The second meeting on October 3, 1922 was attended by Flerovsky, Krasikov, Stepanov. At the meeting, in order to amend the previous resolution, it was decided "in view of the difficulties with publishing a separate newspaper" to confine itself to publishing a weekly page in Pravda; the leadership of this matter was entrusted to

Galkin. This meeting also considered the issue: "Organization and supervision of censorship." In pursuance of the resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), it was decided to invite all editorial boards “to send all notes and articles on the church movement to the Agitprop (anti-religious] commission), where Flerovsky should be responsible for distributing them among the members of the commission (see note 6 to d. 12).

At the second meeting, the commission considered the "organizational issue". The commission decided: "To ask the Central Committee whose directives should the commission be guided by in its work?" Since the "commission chaired by Comrade Trotsky" (*I mean the commission on church values ”* - see N ° 12-10, 12-11.) May be finishing its work, the Anti-Religious" Agitprop Commission finds it necessary to organize a new single commission on church affairs, the main nucleus of which may be the aforementioned Agitprop commission. "

The resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of October 13, 1922 (No. 12-9) is the implementation of this proposal of the Anti-Religious Commission under the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the RCP (b).

The new Anti-Religious Commission, created by the decree of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of October 13, 1922 (No. 12-9) and approved by the resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of October 19, 1922 (No. 12-15), was named in accordance with its organizational protocol No. 1 (No. 12-14) by the Commission for the separation of the church from the state (KOMOTZERGOR), and this name is in all its protocols; abbreviated name - Anti-Religious Commission. In the first minutes of the commission, there is no name for the institution under which it was created, from minutes No. 5 of November 21, 1922 it is indicated that the commission operates “under the Central Committee. RCP ". In a letter from the deputy head of the Agitprop of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), Ya. Yakovlev, dated

November 15, 1922, to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), it appears that the commission operates “under the agitprop of the Central Committee. RCP ". Moreover, the word "agitprop" itself was inserted by the hand of J.

The question of the anti-religious commissions of 1921-1922. difficult enough. At this time, the central party and state bodies created a significant number of various anti-religious commissions. They mainly dealt with emerging operational issues and, as a rule, did not exist for long. Document No. 12-9 reflects the desire of the party leadership to establish at least some order and unification in this matter.

Making the histories of all these commissions is a matter of the future. Here we will only point out a number of identified documents related to this problem. In the archives of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) - VKP (b) (1920-1927), the minutes from December 1921 to March 1922 of the meetings of the "anti-religious" Agitprop commission with the materials attached to them (RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 60, d. 158, l. 2-9, 11-18, 49-51ob.). There is no protocol numbering. The name of the commission in the headings varies slightly: "Commission under the Central Committee's propaganda department for anti-religious propaganda" or "Commission under the Central Committee's Agit-Department. R.K.P. on anti-religious propaganda ”. There is also the protocol of the commission “at the Agit-department of the Central Committee. on the question of leaflets and brochures on the campaign to take away the values of the churches "dated March 22, 1922.

In September 1922, there was a parallel Commission for the Church Movement. The handwritten minutes No. 1 of its meeting on September 27, 1922 has been preserved (RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d. 443a, l. 1). The protocol is certified by E.A. Tuchkov. The meeting “was attended by comrades. Menzhinsky, Deribas, Krasikov, Galkin and Rebrov ”, Krasikov chaired. On the first issue, "On groupings in the VTsU", a resolution was adopted: "a) Introduce the bishop of Nizhny Novgorod Evdokim to the VTsU, b) Strengthen

the movement of the left current, c) Merge the groups" Living Church "and" Church Revival "to leave and involve the left current."

On the second issue, in connection with the publication in Pravda, No. 217 of the statement of Bishop Antonin Granovsky, a resolution was adopted: “To propose to Comrade Krasikov to warn the editorial board of Pravda about the inadmissibility of publishing articles on the church movement without the consent of the Commission” (see comm. . 6 to D. 12).

On the third issue, "On the development of sectarianism," a resolution was adopted: "To carry out the expulsion of Baptists through the Commission."

Note the predominant participation of GPU employees in this commission. It is unclear how it relates to the anti-religious commissions that existed under the GPU, in particular, to the “subcommittees” “on church affairs” or “on the convocation of a Council” (see No. 12-10).

According to the plans of the country's political leadership, the commission organized under the Central Committee of the RCP (b) was supposed to abolish or absorb such temporary commissions of various party and government departments. Created on the basis of the more or less constantly working Commission of Agitprop of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), the new commission, in addition to direct party responsibilities for anti-religious propaganda, was called upon to solve practically all emerging religious issues. Thus, in the hands of party functionaries, the powers of power were concentrated to control and determine policy in relation to all religious associations in the country and, first of all, the Russian Orthodox Church.

"Minutes No. 18 of the meeting of the Commission on Values" on the composition and functions of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). October 17, 1922

No. 12-10

C. secret

Attended by: com. Trotsky, Krasikov, Smidovich, Galkin, Flerovsky, Tuchkov, Skvortsov-Stepanov.

Resolved:

1. From the statement of Comrade Flerovsky, supported by other members of the Commission and fully complying with two resolutions of the Orgburo, it is clear that the Orgburo's resolution of 13 / X omitted mention of Comrade Popov as a member of the Commission on anti-religious propaganda. Thus, the actual composition of the commission is as follows: Skvortsov, Krasikov, Popov, Menzhinsky, Smidovich.

The tasks of the Commission are determined by the resolutions of the Organizing Bureau dated 6 / IX (protocol No. 52) [5] and the Secretariat of the Central Committee dated 27 / IX (protocol No. 58) [6] .

2. The existing subcommittees (at the GPU for church affairs, at the Politburo for sectarian affairs, at the GPU for convening a Council, etc.) should be examined by the above Commission in terms of their composition and work and, depending on the circumstances, either liquidated, or turned into subcommissions of the main Commission.

(Proposal adopted unanimously)

3. This meeting proposes that the created Commission be constructed in the shortest possible time and have a permanent address, telephone, etc.

The first meeting of the Commission will take place today at 8:00. evenings in the office of Comrade Kalinin.

Responsibility for convening at Comrade Krasikov.

4. The meeting requests the Politburo to urgently approve the above Commission.

Genuine signed:

Chairman L. Trotsky.

Secretary M. Glazman.

- L. 29. A typewritten copy of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and certified by the office clerk of the office of the chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council. Freehand secrecy formula. In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the handwritten date "20 / X-22" *and the incoming number.*

Notes and Comments:

[5] Minutes No. 52 of the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) dated 06.09.1922 contain clause 8 "On anti-religious propaganda, (Comrade Bubnov)", the decision on which reads:

"8. For the leadership of anti-religious propaganda, create a commission under the Agitprop Central Committee consisting of: comrades. Skvortsov, Krasikov and Popov, charging the commission to monitor all publications on religious issues and information in periodicals on these issues. "

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.367, l. 3.

There is also this decree, issued on September 8, 1922 as an extract from Minutes No. 52, clause 8 of the meeting of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) dated September 6, 1922 (p. 178).

[6] In the minutes No. 58 of the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) dated September 27, 1922, there is clause 4 "On newspaper articles criticizing renovationist trends in

the church (Resolution] of the Organizing Bureau of 20 / IX-s.) (Comrade Bubnov)" , the solution for which reads:

"4. 1) To recognize it necessary to give a critical analysis of the Renovationist trends within the church (Living Church, Renaissance, etc.) on the pages of the central party press.

2) To oblige the editors of newspapers to submit articles containing criticism of renovationist trends in the church beforehand to the Agitprop of the Central Committee for review by the anti-religious Commission (consisting of Comrades Stepanov-Skvortsov, Krasikov and Popov N.N.).

3) Suggest Agitprop to issue a directive to the provincial press on the need to strictly adhere to the line of the capital press when covering issues of church schism.

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.374, l. 2.

A post-telegram from L. D. Trotsky to the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the urgent approval of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of Protocol No. 18 - "Commission on Church Values" on the composition and functions of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). October 17, 1922

No. 12-11

In [ezma] urgently.

P [ochto] -t [message] No. 203 / p

To the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

While transmitting at this one copy of the minutes of the meeting of the Commission on Church Values, I ask you to urgently hold by phone, today, in order to avoid further delays in the work, the approval of the commission specified in the minutes, its composition and functions (both are only a summary of the decisions of the Organizing Bureau from 6 / IX, 27 / IX and 13 / X s / y.) [7]

L. Trotsky

17 / X-22 g.

- L. 28. Typewritten original, signature - facsimile. In the upper right corner there is a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the handwritten date "20 / X-22" *and the incoming number.*

Notes and Comments:

[7] See # 12-9 and comm. 5, 6 to d. 12.

V. M. Molotov's note to L. D. Trotsky regarding his post-telegram on the procedure for approving the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of the composition and functions of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). October 17, 1922

No. 12-12

Comrade TROTSKY.

From the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party to the postal phone [letter] No. 203 / r.

The question you proposed for voting today has been moved to the Politburo at the suggestion of Comrade Lenin dated 16 / X to clarify the composition of the commission. In view of this, the Secretariat decided not to vote by telephone, but to include the issue on the agenda of the Politburo on Thursday 19 / X [8] .

At the same time, the Secretariat of the Central Committee informs you that there was indeed a mistake in the Secretariat's resolution of 13 / X: Comrade Popov was included in the Commission on Church Affairs by a resolution of the Secretariat of 6 / IX [1] * and this decision was not canceled [9] .

Secretary of the Central Committee: (Molotov).

- *L.* 27. *Typewritten leave, signature - autograph (the first page of this typewritten bookmark was on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)).*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Fixed, in document X.*

[8] See # 12-15.

[9] See # 12-9 and comm. 5, 6 to d. 12.

Telephone message from LB Kamenev to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the introduction of M. I. Kalinin into the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). October 17, 1922

No. 12-13

Very urgent.

17 / X 12 hours 20 minutes

Telephone message] No. 5 to No. 13097 / s.

After reviewing the resolution of the secretariat on the composition of the commission on church affairs, I propose to supplement the composition of this commission by introducing Comrade Kalinina Mikh [aila] Iv [anovich].

Please let me know immediately whether my proposal will be accepted or not.

Member of the Politburo L. Kamenev.

- L. 26. Handwritten clerk's original on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), autograph of the assistant to the head of the reception office of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E. V. Legrand.

Minutes No. 1 of the organizational meeting of the Commission for the separation of church from state (Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)). October 17, 1922

No. 12-14 [10]

Strictly Secret

PROTOCOL No. 1-

Comrades are present. KRASIKOV, MENZHINSKY, POPOV, Deputy] FLEROVSKY, SKVORTSOV and SMIDOVICH.

By virtue of the Org. Bureau of the Central Committee Commission consisting of comrades. KRASIKOV, MENZHINSKY, POPOV, Deputy] FLEROVSKY, SKVORTSOV and SMIDOVICH. Gathered 17 / X-22 years and appropriated the name: Commission for the separation of the Church from the State (COMOTZER-MOUNTAIN.)

Temporary] [1] * The chairman was elected comrade. KRASIKOV—

IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS : (Unanimously) [2] *

1. Apply to the Politburo Ts.K. with the request:

1) To approve the Commission as the only leading in matters of Church policy and anti-religious agitation and propaganda, and

2. Introduce to the Commission as Chairman of her comrade. TROTSKY.

2) Contact the Constituent Distribution Department of the Secretariat of the CECA RCP for the secondment of Comrade GALKINA at the disposal of the Commission for the performance of the duties of the Secretary of the Commission.

3) Sessions of the Commission [and] take place on Mondays at 8 pm in the office of Comrade KALININA building of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Kremlin. -

- L. 30. A typewritten copy of that time, made for the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), certified on October 18, 1922 by P. A. Krasikov. In the upper left corner, the mailing address is written in his own hand: "To the Politburo." *Pencil secrecy formula.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] ** Corrected by hand from the originally printed* Vreede.

[2] ** Attributed in a line by the hand of PA Krasikov.*

[10] At present, in addition to the minutes of the meeting of the Anti-Religious Commission (Commission for the Separation of Church from State) under the Central Committee of the RCP (b), which are in case No. 12, i.e. minutes No. 1 of the organizational meeting and No. 1, 2 and 31, the following minutes are known this commission from October 1922 to April 1925.

Minutes No. 3 dated November 8, 1922

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d. 443a, l. 9 (original). Minutes No. 4 dated November 14, 1922

- Ibid, l. 10-11 (original). Minutes No. 5 dated November 21, 1922

- Ibid, l. thirteen.

Minutes No. b dated November 28, 1922

- Ibid, l. 16-17 (draft). Minutes No. 7 dated December 5, 1922

- Ibid, l. 18-19.

Minutes No. 8 dated December 19, 1922

- Ibid, l. 20-21.

Minutes No. 9 dated December 27, 1922

- Ibid, l. 22 (original). Minutes No. 10 dated January 2, 1923

- Ibid, l. 23 (original). Minutes No. I dated January 30, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 2-2a.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 24-25 (draft). Minutes No. 12 dated February 6, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 3 (without end).

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 26-27 (original). Minutes No. 13 dated February 20, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 4-5.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 28-29 (draft). Minutes No. 14 dated February 27, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 6-7.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 30-31 (draft). Minutes No. 15 dated March 6, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 8-9.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 32-33.

Minutes No. 16 dated March 20, 1922

- Ibid, l. 34-35 (draft). Minutes No. 17 dated March 27, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. ten.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 36-37 (draft). Minutes No. 18 dated April 3, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 11-12.

- Ibid, l. 51-52.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 38-39. Minutes No. 19 dated April 10, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. thirteen.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 40. Minutes No. 20 dated May 4, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 53.

- Ibid, l. fourteen.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 1 (original).

- Ibid, l. 2.

Minutes No. 21 dated May 15, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 15-16.

- Ibid, l. 54-55.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 3-4 (original). Minutes No. 22 dated May 22, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 17-19.

- Ibid, l. 56-58.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 5-7 (original). Minutes No. 23 dated June 5, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 22-23.

- Ibid, l. 20-21.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 8-9 (original). Minutes No. 24 dated June 12, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 24-25.

- Ibid, l. 59-60.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 10-11 (original). Minutes No. 25 dated June 19, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 26-27.

- Ibid, l. 61-62.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 12-13 (original). Minutes No. 26 dated June 26, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 28-29.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 14-15 (original). Minutes No. 27/28 dated July 4, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. thirty.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 16 (original). Minutes No. 29 dated July 10, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 31-32.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 17-18. Minutes No. 30 dated July 17, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 33-34.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 14-20 (original). Minutes No. 30a dated July 19, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 35.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 21 (original). Minutes No. 32 dated July 24, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 38.

- Ibid, l. 64.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 23 (original). Minutes No. 33 dated August 5, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 39-40.

- Ibid, l. 65-66.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 24-25ob. (script). Minutes No. 33a dated August 14, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 42, 43 (no end).

- Ibid, l. 41 (no end).

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 26-27 (original). Minutes No. 34 dated August 21, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 44.

- Ibid, l. 67.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 30 (original). Minutes No. 35 dated 11 September 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 45.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 31 (original). Minutes No. 36 dated September 13, 1923

- Ibid, l. 32 (original). Minutes No. 36a dated September 18, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 46-48.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 33-35 (original). Minutes No. 37 dated October 31, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 49.

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 36 (original). Minutes No. 38 dated November 13, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 37-39.

- CA FSB, f. 2, op. 1, d.138, l. 183-185 (original). Minutes No. 39 dated November 20, 1923

RTSKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 43 (original). Minutes No. 40 dated November 26, 1923

- Ibid, l. 44-45 (original). Minutes No. 41 dated December 5, 1923

- Ibid, l. 46-47 (original). Minutes No. 41a dated December 12, 1923

- Ibid, l. 48.

Minutes No. 42 dated January 2, 1924

- Ibid, l. 49.

- Ibid, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 50. Minutes No. 43 dated January 12, 1924.

RTSKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 50-51. Minutes No. 44 dated February 13, 1924

- Ibid, l. 52-53 (original). Minutes No. 45 dated February 26, 1924

- Ibid, l. 54-56.

Minutes No. 46/47 dated March 21, 1924

- Ibid, l. 57-57ob. (script). Minutes No. 48 dated March 25, 1924

- Ibid, l. 58.

Minutes No. 49 dated April 8, 1924

- Ibid, l. 59-59ob. (script). Minutes No. 50 dated April 22, 1924

- Ibid, l. 60-60o6. (script). Minutes No. 51 dated May 22, 1924

- Ibid, l. 61-62 (original). Minutes No. 52 dated June 17, 1924

- Ibid, d. 775, l. 1-2. Minutes No. 53/54 dated July 2, 1924

- Ibid, l. 3-4 (original). Minutes No. 55 dated September 3, 1924

- Ibid, l. 5-7.

Minutes No. 56 dated September 8, 1924

- Ibid, l. 8-10 (draft).

Minutes No. 57 dated November 1, 1924

- Ibid, l. 11-13 (original).

Minutes No. 58 dated November 13, 1924

- Ibid, l. 14-15 (original).

Minutes No. 59 dated November 22, 1924

- Ibid, l. 16-17 (original).

Minutes No. 60 dated November 28, 1924

- Ibid, l. 18-19 (original).

Minutes No. 61 dated December 5, 1924

- Ibid, l. 20-21 (original).

Minutes No. 62 dated December 16, 1924

- Ibid, l. 22-23 (original).

Minutes No. 63 dated January 6, 1925

- Ibid, l. 24-25.

Minutes No. 64 dated February 14, 1925

- Ibid, l. 26-28 (original).

- Ibid, f. 89, op. 4, d.14, l. 11-13.

Minutes No. 65 dated March 20, 1925

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.775, l. 32-34 (original).

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the composition of the "commission on anti-religious propaganda" (Anti-religious commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 32, paragraph 4 of October 19, 1922

No. 12-15

Ow [done] Secret. -

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
4. About the commission on anti-religious propaganda. (Orgburo No. 62 p. 15 of 13 / X).	4. a) Approve the composition of the commission, including Comrade Popov, who will be appointed chairman. - b) Instruct the commission to submit a report to the Politburo every two weeks. -

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 24. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on October 19, 1922. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "T.t. BUBNOV, SKVORTSOV, KRASIKOV, MEN'ZHINSKY, SMIDOVICH, POPOV, KURSKY ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.301, l. 15. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the form of Politburo resolutions. At the bottom right is the mailing record: "Extract com. Bubnov, Skvortsov, Krasikov, Menzhinsky, Smidovich, Popov, Kursky. " *In the* "Materials" *column of the form, document No. 12-11 is indicated (in turn, the accompanying document No. 12-14), but these documents themselves are not in the file. L. 2:* "Present: Lenin, Kamenev, Stalin, Trotsky, Molotov, Tomsky", "Radek, Solts, Zinoviev, Kalinin", "Sokolnikov came".

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.55, l. 38. A typewritten copy of the extract of that time, certified by the typewritten signature of the Deputy Secretary of

the Politburo MN Burakova, made for V. I. Lenin. There are no secrecy formulas and no signatures. Stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" *with a handwritten date* "25 / XI".

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.378, l. 61. Typewritten copy of the extract from that time, certified by the assistant secretary of the Politburo E. S. Lepeshinskaya. The secrecy formula and signatures are missing.

Notes and Comments:

With a copy of the RCKHIDNI there is a cover letter on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), sent on November 8, 1922 “on behalf of Comrade Stalin "" for information "" MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO Vol. LENIN . ZINOVIEV, KAMENEV, KALININ, MOLOTOV, STALIN, TROTSKY and comrade KUIBYSHEV "signed by the Assistant Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A. M. Nazaretyan. On the letter the stamp: " Ow [absolutely] Secret ." Stamp "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with the date "25 / XI-22". (L. 36).

This cover letter also applies to copies of the RCKHIDNI documents No. 12-16, 12-17, 12-18, 12-19, 12-20.

"Minutes No. 1 * 11 * of the meeting of the Commission for the separation of the church from the state" (Anti-religious commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)) dated October 23, 1922

No. 12-16

Top secret.

ATTENDED BY: Comrades KRASIKOV, SKVORTSOV, FLEROVSKY, MENZHINSKY, TUCHKOV, DERIBAS.

Chaired by: Comrade KRASIKOV.

Secretary: Comrade DERIBAS. -

Listened:	Resolved:
1. About general church work.	1) Confirm the directive regarding the activities of G.P.U eliminating Tikhonov's supporters, influencing the VTsU in struggle of all 3 groups (Renaissance, Living Church and the
	2) Instruct Comrade Tuchkov to make a report.
2. About Tikhonovshchina [2] *.	3) To acquaint all members of the Commission] before the r extracts of the newspaper issue and its direction, and at the a judgment.
3) [3] * Current [3] *.	4) Express the hands. abstracts for [4] * press on the church is Skvortsov [5] *.

Schedule the meeting for 31 / X in the KALININ Cabinet.

CHAIRMAN: P. Krasikov

SECRETARY:

- L. 33. Typewritten original; the first signature is an autograph, the second is missing.

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 2. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark; the first signature is an autograph, the second is the

autograph of E. A. Tuchkov. The same handwritten editing of the text, except for items 1 and 3) of the left column and item 4) of the right column. Instead of the original "work." *hand-corrected* "works". *Instead of* "3) Current" *is written* "3) Current affairs:". *In paragraph 4), the beginning was corrected by hand:* "To develop a guide. theses for the party press ... " *To the second formula of signature by hand of EA Tuchkov is attributed:* " For ".

- Ibid, f. 5, op. 2, d.55, l. 40. A typewritten copy of that time, certified by the typewritten signature of the Deputy Secretary of the Politburo M. N. Burakova, made for V. I. Lenin. Handwritten editing of the text of the copy of the APRF was taken into account and submitted by typescript. Instead of "3) Current" it is *printed* "3. Current affairs".

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), sent on November 6, 1922 "in accordance with the resolution of comrade BUBNOV "" IN THE POLITBURO "signed by P. Gerasimov, Assistant Secretary of the Agitprop Department of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). On the letter in the hand of the Assistant Secretary of the Politburo E. M. Sherlina of the litter: "Done under No. 8192 / p. 8 / XI-s. Mr. E. Sh [erlin] ". (L. 31).

Covering letter to the copy of RCKHIDNI see note. to No. 12-15.

[1] * *Handwritten.*

[2] * *The last four letters are handwritten.*

[3] * *Handwritten.*

[4] * *Next crossed out* receipt.

[5] * *Corrected by hand instead of the originally printed* SMIDOVICH.

Theses of the member of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov on the tasks of anti-religious propaganda [Between 23 and 31 October 1922 r.]

No. 12-17

ABSTRACTS

Comrade SKVORTSOVA ON ANTI-RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA.

1. Successes in the struggle on the internal and external fronts, the obvious hopelessness of all interventions, uprisings and conspiracies have shown that Soviet power is a strong government that can be called a "government of the whole people" with infinitely more rights than any imaginable Russian governments -

2. The elementary commandment of self-preservation commands the church to sever direct and open ties with the landowners and capitalists and with their state system. Hence the "change of political milestones", starting with the more far-sighted part of the clergy.

3. In terms of NEP-a, and for revitalizing monarchist work abroad have more conservative elements clergy closely related ... [1] * exploiting classes, wakes hope for gradual restoration starago ekonomicheskago system through capitalist degeneration proletarian dictatorship. Hence the desire to avoid an abrupt and direct break with the previous system and to hide for a while from any political definiteness under the banner of "apolitism."

4. With the new successes of Soviet power in international relations and in building socialist construction, the clergy, in their own interests, will be forced to abandon these tactics and again come out with statements about their positive attitude towards the workers 'and peasants' power. -

5. Considering that, in the workers 'and peasants' system with a decisive political predominance on the side of the proletariat, a certain coloration of socialism is absolutely necessary in order to

preserve its influence on the masses, the most far-sighted part of the clergy initially took significant steps in this direction.

6. However, experience has shown that this means is incapable of returning to the church the masses of the proletariat that have actually fallen away from it and slowing down all their accelerating falling away, and that, on the other hand, the practical activity of the Soviet Power, expanding the influence of the RCP on the peasantry, in the countryside also leaves no room for a colorless one. vague and inactive Christian socialism. As a result, Christian socialism, which at first was noticeably manifested in church renovation trends, began to erode and fade.

7. The clergy as a whole is only slowly getting rid of the illusions generated by past history and comes to the conviction that the Soviet government is the first government in the world that fundamentally rejects any state church and any joint activity with any church. Hopes that some group of clergy would get an institutionalized position would initially have caused feverish shifts among the clergy. When it turned out that this was a vain hope, the fervor of the Renovationist groups cooled off. All the clergy, in its overwhelming majority, internally remained a supporter of such a political system, which, using the church and religion, as one of its supports, provides the church and religion with all kinds of patronage, among other things, material.

8. It is necessary to objectively relate to the squabble that began in the church, and first of all to realize that not one of the groups has any reason to declare its moral superiority over the others, they all behaved in the same way under the autocracy and all of them equally as then, as now, they were interested in income and the question of their preservation and increase. - This is the main, defining motive for the overwhelming majority of the clergy, whether they rely on the big-property classes or on the proletariat and peasantry.

9. The ever deepening ideological differences between the various groups of the clergy do not give grounds for preferring any one of

them. - From a communist point of view, all these groups, unless they are directly and actively counter-revolutionary, are the same, since all[2] * they are [2] * in the same way only in different ways trying to preserve as much as possible from the medieval world outlook, and they all equally want to strengthen the existence of the priestly profession.

10 Ide [o] logical discrepancies are caused by the desire to adapt to the world outlook of various social strata in varying degrees affected by modern development and by making minimal concessions to slow down the accelerating falling away of the flock from every church and every religion. - Following this path, some groups seek to restore their former influence on the urban petty bourgeoisie, others adapt to the middle intelligentsia, others want to slow down the decay of the village youth, etc. - Some groups of the church being renovated will approach the sectarians in the hope of returning them to reformed Orthodoxy ... As a result, Orthodoxy is differentiated [3]*, eventually disintegrates, perhaps, into special churches of which each will try to get in touch with the inner experiences of its special flock more closely and deeper than the former undifferentiated [4] * Orthodoxy was connected .

11. Equally critical of all religious trends, the RCP should reveal their equal fragility and inconsistency and oppose all intricacies and turns with a scientific interpretation of all religious beliefs and a historical criticism of all religious worlds. -

12. The RCP should use the struggle and squabbles that flare up inside the church not to remove one or another of the groupings, taking its side, but to 1) deprive the counter-revolution of the opportunity to receive cannon fodder for itself with the help of the church and the clergy, and 2) to tear the masses away from any religion and z [a] change it with a positive scientific understanding of nature and society. -

- L. 38-40. Typewritten copy of that time, certified by the signature of E.A.Tuchkov. Dated from references to theses in documents 12-16 and 12-19.

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 5-7. Typewritten copy of that time, certified by the signature of E.A.Tuchkov. Above L. 5 handwritten marks: 1) "vol. Menzhinsky. E. "Tufts]"; *2)* . "By Protocol] № 2 from 31.X.1922 of claim 4" . *(Number 12-19) In step 2, the word* "beginning" *corrected by the hand over* . "Launched" *in paragraph 3 instead of ellipsis is imprinted with* "old".

- Ibid, f. 5, op. 2, d.55, l. 44-45. A typewritten copy of that time, certified by the typewritten signature of M.N.Burakova, made for V.I.Lenin from a typewritten copy certified by E.A.Tuchkov. The text has been edited according to the rules of the new spelling. In clause 7, the word "privileged" is *corrected in red ink to* "privileged". *In item 12, after the words* "use not", *added* "only".

Notes and Comments:

Covering letter to the copy of RCKHIDNI see note. to No. 12-15.

[1] * *So in the document.*

[2] * *Fixed, in the document by* all.

[3] * *Corrected,* differentiated *in the document* .

[4] * *Next, the* clergy is *slaughtered* .

Report of the head of the VI branch of the Secret Department of the GPU E. A. Tuchkov of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on Tikhonovism" on October 30, 1922

No. 12-18

OWL [DOUBLE] SECRET .

REPORT ON TIKHONOVSHIN .

Five months ago, the basis of our work in the fight against the clergy was set the task of "fighting Tikhonov's reactionary clergy" and, of course, first of all, with the higher hierarchs such as: metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, etc.

To carry out this task, a group was formed, the so-called "LIVING CHURCH", consisting mainly of white priests, which made it possible for us to quarrel the priests with the bishops, approximately like a soldier with generals [s], for there was enmity between the white and black clergy long before this time, since the latter had a great advantage in the church and protected itself by the canons from the competition of white priests for the highest hierarchical posts. We took this circumstance into account and from this point on, we began to carry out the designated task.

Along with many articles, proclamations, speeches, etc., in which Tikhonov's and monastic-hierarchical policies were stigmatized, and Tikhon himself, the priests, having taken the supreme ecclesiastical power into their own hands, proceeded to the real implementation of this task, that is, to remove the Tikhonov bishops from the administration of dioceses and replace their loyal to the Soviet government. First of all, bishops of a particularly reactionary wing were replaced.

Within five months, this task was more than half completed, for example: to date, in the 68 dioceses existing in the 68 dioceses, about 100 people have been dismissed for retirement, 11 people have been appointed to the diocese by the ruling bishops of newly consecrated widows and idle priests by living churches, plus 11 people who are

not ruling 4 people, appointed and transferred by the old bishops who served under Tikhon who were loyal to the Soviet government and church renewal - 10 people and about 20 people left the ruling in the dioceses, 9 dioceses are completely without bishops, and finally 5 people remain unreplaced by the ardent Tikhonites. Thus, even if half of these “loyalists” are attributed to the Tikhonites, it turns out that half of the Tikhonov bishops have been replaced by Renovationists and semi-Renovationists.

It would be possible to finally crush the Tikhonov and semi-Tikhon episcopates and deprive him of the management of the church only if, contrary to the canons, the married priests were ordained bishops and bishops with any views selected from them, then in this case the episcopate would undoubtedly be clearly opposed to Tikhon and his policies.

In my opinion, it would be not bad to expel the Tikhonites from the parish councils by starting this work in about the same way, that is, setting one part of the faithful against another. This can be done through the formation of lay groups of "zealots of the renovation movement." As an example, I will cite the test carried out by KRASNITSKY in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior on October 28, where, after his speech and invitation, 12 lay people signed up for the renewal group, indicating their detailed addresses in the list. True, this figure is small, but as a test it is quite indicative, since even in this church the laity enrolled in the Renovationists.

Upon completion of this task, that is, when the Tikhonovism is broken and discredited, which to this day is still of paramount importance, hence the logical conclusion that a period of paralysis of the unity of the church is coming, which undoubtedly should occur at the council, i.e., a split into several church groups who will strive to implement and implement each of their reforms.

HEAD OF THE 6TH DIVISION OF THE SECRET DEPARTMENT OF THE GPU: E. Tuchkov

October 30, 1922.

- L. 36-31. Typewritten script, signature and date in date - autograph.

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.55, l. 43. A typewritten copy of that time, certified by the typewritten signature of the Deputy Secretary of the Politburo MN Burakova, made for V. I. Lenin. The text has been edited according to the rules of the new spelling. The last paragraph reads "discredited".

- Published according to the copy of RCKHIDNI: Historical Archives. 1993. No. 2. S. 81-82.

Notes and Comments:

Covering letter to the copy of RCKHIDNI see note. to No. 12-15.

"Minutes No. 2 of the meeting of the Commission for the separation of the church from the state" (Anti-religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)). October 31, 1922

No. 12-19

Ow [done] Secret .

PRESENT: comrades. KRASIKOV, SMIDOVICH, SKVORTSOV, FLEROVSKY, MENZHINSKY, TUCHKOV, DERIBAS.

Chairperson: Comrade KRASIKOV.

Secretary: Comrade DERIBAS.

Listened:	Resolved:
1. About the Secretary of the Commission.	1. Repeat the Commission's petition to the Organizing Bureau for the appointment of Comrade GALKINA or anyone else.
2. About the Commission for Sects [1] *.	2. To ask the Politburo to transfer all the rights and obligations to work among the sects of this Commission and thereby abolish the sectarian Commission.
3. A report on the state of affairs in the fight against Tikhonovism and information on the work of the VTsU was made by Comrade. Tuchkovo (report writing is applied) showed that the organization of new groups to weaken "Living Church" when another Tikhonov adherents bishops left the ruling	a) Take a firmer stake on the "Living Church" group by coalition with the leftist group. b) to intensify the struggle against Tikhonovism in whatever way it is expressed, although in the resistance of the VTsU in the center and in the localities.

about 65 people [ovek] appeared event premature, that Tikhonites, taking advantage of the confusion began after the first fright [2] * to come in themselves and organize themselves (though not under the open Tikhonov flag), but in other places and act expelling the renovationists from the diocesan administrations and do not obey the VTsU and many other provisions of the unsatisfactory nature of this work.

c) Expand extensive work to cleanse the Tikhonov and generally Black Hundred elements from the parish councils in the center and in the localities.

d) Lead the displacement of Tikhon's bishops in shock order.

e) To carry out, through the VCU, the widespread public recognition of Soviet power by diocesan councils, individual bishops and priests, as well as parish councils. Suggest to complete it by January 1st.

f) Propose, through ep [fossil] [3] * KRASIKOV, to provide the GPU with all kinds of assistance in the administrative struggle against Tikhonovism.

g) Suggest the GPU to deal well with the compromise of the priests here and in the field.

h) Relocate the retired bishops in Moscow through the VCU to some remote monastery.

i) Instruct Comrade At the next meeting of the Commission, TUCHKOV will make a report on the state of affairs in Tikhon's case now, what material is available, whether it is necessary to stage his trial and how to deal with it otherwise.

who in. KRASIKOV for the next meeting to make a report on the church abroad.

k) Do not support the autocephaly of the national church until the Council. Delegate Comrade SKVORTSOVA with someone from the VTsU and GPU to Ukraine to study this issue there and after that, after hearing their information, take one or another decision on the issue of autocephaly [11] .

4. Accept the abstracts, and give them to each member of the Commission on Thursday, at 15½ hours. in the reception comrade. KALININA to gather all the members of the Commission who will have these or those amendments. These amendments should be introduced and the theses should be submitted to the Agit.-prop.

4. Theses (attached hereto) on anti-religious propaganda (Comrade SKVORTSOV).

Through Comrade Krasikov offer tons. Bonch-do at the next meeting of the Commission hour report on the current status of all sects existing in the USSR, besides giving-writing of characterizing all [4] * sect [4] * memo.

Comrade Tuchkov to make a co-report on the materials of the GPU. Instruct the GPU to

systematically collect material on the political side of various sects.

5. About the newspaper "Science and Religion".

Comrade FLEROVSKY reported that this newspaper no longer needs subsidies, and since this was one of the big arguments for its closure, now this issue can be revised.

5. Present the publication of the newspaper comrade. GALKIN for two weeks, inviting him to first fill it in with articles and notes previously agreed] with Comrade TUCHKOV, and secondly, two weeks later, to give the Commission a detailed report on the need to continue its publication and direction.

6. Current affairs.

6. a) The next meeting of the Commission shall be appointed in the office of Comrade ENUKIDZE at 20 o'clock. 8 / XI.

b) Leave Bishop Sergius in the same position disgraced.

c) At the request of Comrade SMIDOVICH about PELTS - to propose to talk to Comrade SMIDOVICH with Comrade Tuchkov.

d) According to Comrade BUBNOV, announced by Comrade. FLEROVSKY:

1) Commissioned by Comrade KRASIKOV, SMIDOVICH, SKVORTSOV, FLEROVSKY to write a number of articles on the corruption of the church and to distribute the organs of the press in which to place these

articles. In particular, instruct Comrade SKVORTSOV to develop the theses adopted today in Pravda, comrade FLEROVSKY to highlight the church schism in Izvestia. Instruct agitation-prop. once again urge the editors to send articles on church affairs for preview to Cde. FLEROVSKY. The latter skips the indisputable articles himself, and discusses controversial ones with comrades. BEAUTIFUL and STARLING.

P.P. CHAIRMAN: Krasikov

SECRETARY: Deribas

- L. 34-35. Typewritten copy, certified on November 1, 1922 by E. A. Tuchkov. The signatures and the formula "Schodlinny] P [signed]" - the *autograph of EA Tuchkov.*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 3-4. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark; signatures - autographs. In the upper left corner of l. 3 by the hand of EA Tuchkov of the litter: " Comrade Krasikov. Upon signing, please return it back. 1 / XI.22. E. Tuchkov ". *The same manuscript editing text with the exception of sub-paragraphs e) and f) of paragraph 3. Instead of the original* "Bishop] Krasikov" *freehand corrected* "t. KRASIKOVA ". *Instead of the original* "put well" *by hand,* "put actively" has been *corrected* .

- Ibid, f. 5, op. 2, d.55, l. 41-42. A typewritten copy of that time, certified by the typewritten signature of the Deputy Secretary of the Politburo M. N. Burakova, made for V. I. Lenin. Handwritten editing of the text of the copy of the APRF was taken into account and submitted by typescript. Both signatures are typewritten.

Notes and Comments:

Covering letter to the copy of RCKHIDNI see note. to No. 12-15.

[1] * *Further in the left column the names of paragraphs are mistakenly printed under No. 3, 4, 5 , reprinted in the same column below under No. 4, 5, 6; in the right column opposite these items there is a curly brace and is written by hand,* see below.

[2] * *Handwritten on the left margin.*

[3] * *So in the document; it should probably be* comrade.

[4] * *Inserted above the line by hand.*

[11] This is the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. During the civil war and NEP, autocephalous Orthodox organizations were created in Ukraine several times. Since 1918 the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Rada has been actively operating, in the creation of which S. Petliura, V. Chekhovskoy took part; Under the chairmanship of the latter, on October 14, 1921, the "All-Ukrainian Council" was convened, which proclaimed the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Since none of the Orthodox bishops then joined this organization, the autocephalists carried out the proclamation of the bishop (by the laying on of the hands of the priests) of the forbidden married archpriest Vasily Lipkovsky, who was later elevated to the rank of “Metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine”. Soon a large “Lipkovsky episcopate” arose, but the number of its believers was insignificant.

In August 1922, a meeting of 84 participants in the Ukrainian Church Council of 1918 was convened in Kiev (which met since January 1918 with the blessing of the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church and rejected the proposal of Ukrainian autocephaly on January 18, 1918). This meeting presented in 1922 a new proposal for autocephaly for approval by the Council of Ukrainian Bishops. But the Council, chaired by the Patriarchal Exarch of Ukraine (in 1921-1929), Metropolitan Mikhail of Kiev and Galicia (Ermakov Vasily Fedorovich), rejected this proposal, considering that this issue falls within the competence of only church councils of Ukraine and Russia.

However, the Ukrainian renovationist clergy, who soon strengthened in 1922, headed by Archbishop Podolsk and Bratslav Pimen (Pegov), again proclaimed autocephaly. It was recognized in 1925 as the second renovationist council in Moscow, but not by the patriarchal Russian Church. In the fall of 1924, Bishop Theophilus (Buldovsky) of Lubensky proclaimed autocephaly; December 25, 1924 The Council of Ukrainian bishops headed by Metropolitan Michael excommunicated Theophilos and his supporters from the church.

Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. November 4, 1922

No. 12-20

Top secret.

IN THE POLITBURO PK RCP -

Report of the Commission for the Separation of the Church from the State on the work done by it. -

During the reporting period, ie after 19 / X, the Commission had two meetings. The first meeting was devoted to the following issues: the design of the commission, information on the activities of the Supreme Church Administration and church movements in general, and also discussed the further existence of the newspaper "Science and Religion".

It was decided that for the next meeting accurate information about Tikhonovshchina should be given and a report on the newspaper "Science and Religion" made.

At the second meeting, after hearing a report from G.P.U. from which it was clear that the activities of the VTsU in connection with the groups formed in it significantly weakened and lost influence on the places, which took advantage of the Tikhonov-Black Hundred elements and began to unite and eliminate the Renovationists. It was decided to take a firm stake on the Living Church group, as the most active, blocking it with the left group, to expand work to cleanse Tikhonovsky and the Black Hundred element in general in the parish councils in the Center and in the localities, to carry out widespread public recognition of Soviet power through the VTsU diocesan councils and individual bishops and priests, as well as parish councils, and in order not to encounter obstacles from the prosecutor's office in carrying out this work of the GPU, to invite the latter to assist the GPU in the administrative struggle against Tikhonovshchina. It was also decided that the retired bishops in

Moscow should be placed through court in remote monasteries, since there were up to 20 of them in Moscow. -

At the same meeting, it was decided to abolish the special Commission on Sects and transfer all rights to work to the Commission for the Separation of the Church from the State. There were also heard and adopted theses on anti-religious propaganda comrade. SKVORTSOV A and a number of other issues of secondary importance. (See minutes from 31 / X). -

Some of the measures outlined by the Commission have already been completed by now. At the just held plenum of the All-Russian Central University, the latter decided to jointly wage a decisive struggle against Tikhonovshchina by all three groups, and in one day appointed up to 60 [1] * people of Tikhon's bishops from different places to expel and eliminate . The VTsU [2] * has drawn up instructions to the localities for the fight against the Tikhonov Black Hundred elements in the parish councils and an order is being sent to the localities on the public recognition of Soviet power by priests and bishops, etc. Comrade. STEPANOV presented an article for publication in Pravda on church politics.

For the immediate tasks of the Commission see minutes of 31 / X.—

Chairman] Commission: P. Krasikov

/ Secretary: E. Tuchkov

"4" November 1922

- L. 32-ob. Typewritten original, signatures - autographs. On l. 32 stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with handwritten date "10 / XI-22" *and the incoming number. Here is also the handwritten resolution of A. S. Bubnov:* "6 / XI-22. Send to the Politburo. A. Bubnov ". *On l. 32ob. after the date by the hand of PA Krasikov it is attributed:* " Appendix : 2 minutes [ol] of the meeting [of] the commission, 1 report on Tikhonovshchina and theses of Comrade Skvortsov."

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.55, l. 39. A typewritten copy of that time, certified by the typewritten signature of the Deputy Secretary of the Politburo MN Burakova, made for V. I. Lenin. Handwritten editing of the text of the copy of the APRF was taken into account and submitted by typescript. The text has been edited according to the rules of the new spelling. In the third paragraph of the text it is erroneously printed: "Tikhvin-Black Hundreds", "from Tikhvin", "with Tikhvinovshchina". *The last signature formula:* "Deputy] Secretary E. Tuchkov." *Stamp* "Comrade Lenin's Archive" with a *handwritten date* "25 / XI".

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. 8 - rev. An uncertified typewritten copy of the time. Above L. 8 handwritten note: "To the minutes] No. 12 dated 31.X. 1922 g. " *(No. 12-19). There is no day number in the date. Instead of surnames in the formulas of signatures it is printed:* "(signature)".

- Published according to the copy of RCKHIDNI: Historical Archives. 1993. No. 2. P. 77.

Notes and Comments:

Covering letter to the copy of RCKHIDNI see note. to No. 12-15.

[1] * *Corrected in a handwritten line from the originally printed* 50.

[2] * *Inserted above the line by hand.*

Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. November 28, 1922

No. 12-21

IN THE POLITBURO OF THE RCP CECA.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE ANTI-RELIGIOUS COMMISSION

at CECA for the period from 12 to 27 / XI-22

The work of the commission and its subsidiary bodies during the reporting period was as follows.

I. IN THE SPHERE OF DIRECT ANTI-RELIGIOUS AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA.

It was decided to close the newspaper "Science and Religion", which covered the issues of schism in the church, subsidized recently by the party, but did not wear a certain physiognomy. Instead of Science and Religion, it was decided to publish an anti-religious newspaper at the Krasnaya Nov 'publishing house once a week for the first time. The newspaper should be popular, targeting a wide workers 'and peasants' audience. The tasks of the newspaper: coverage from the point of view of consistent Marxism and communism of the events taking place inside the church, the church policy of the Soviet Power and the Communist Party, the sectarian movement, as well as the fight against religious prejudices of all kinds and varieties (including here, in addition to the Orthodox faith and sectarianism, all the so-called heterodox and non-Orthodox denominations) from the angle of the scientific materialistic worldview.

The editor-in-chief of the newspaper is Comrade Flerovsky. It was decided to involve comrades in the closest cooperation. Galkina and Zhakova (head of the] Propaganda] Department of the] MK). The entire technical part of the publication can be considered streamlined. The first issue will be released next week.

Under the newspaper, it was decided to publish a monthly supplement in the form of an illustrated scientific and propaganda magazine. The technical organization of the publication was entrusted to Comrade Flerovsky.

Comrade Krasikov was instructed to prepare a publishing plan for brochure and book literature of anti-religious content by the next meeting of the commission, which could be implemented in the near future through the publishing house Krasnaya Nov '.

II. IN THE FIELD OF SPECIFIC FIGHT AGAINST CHURCH COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN THE FACE OF "TIKHONOVSHCHINA".

A specially created subcommittee consisting of comrades. Krasikov, Menzhinsky and Popov, the cases of bishops, priests and laity caught in the active "Tikhonovism" were examined. Some of them were ordered to be subjected to administrative exile for a period of two to three years. The Zyryansk Oblast (which has points located 1,500 versts from the railway - absolutely deserted and deaf) and Khiva, due to its geographical and ethnographic properties, recognized as an extremely favorable place of exile for the reactionary clergy, are designated as places of exile, first of all. Another part of the bishops and priests who were in custody, who were Tikhon's closest collaborators in the Synod and the old UCC, were decided to be brought to trial along with the former patriarch. The conduct of their case was urgently entrusted to the GPU investigator, Comrade Agranov. To help comrade.[12] .

Measures are being taken to obtain from the representatives of the Living Church and the All-Union Central University of Ukraine concrete materials establishing the counter-revolutionary work of certain individuals from the Tikhonov clergy and reactionary laity for the application of judicial and administrative penalties to them.

3. IN THE FIELD OF DECOMPOSITION OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.

The measures taken succeeded in halting the flared up "internecine" struggle of the Renovationist groups in order to create, at least temporarily, their common front against the "Tikhonovism", which has begun to noticeably intensify in recent years. The result was the intensification of repressions by the VTsU against the "Tikhonovites" (the elimination of several dozen bishops) and the adoption of a number of decrees clearly demonstrating the loyalty of the VTsU in relation to Soviet Power: in particular, the recognition of November 7 as a church holiday (there is information about the solemn celebration of this day , for example, in Tambov, where 4 bishops, 20 priests and up to 2,000 laity participated in the conciliar divine service on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the October Revolution). In principle, the VTsU has been resolved and in the near future a transition to a new style will be implemented with a corresponding shift of all church holidays. The meaning of these measures is primarily reduced to the FURTHER DEEPENING OF THE SPLIT OF THE CHURCH. Recently, one can note the unquestioning execution by the VCU of all the directives of the relevant authorities and the increased influence on its work.

The preparations for the cathedral on the part of the VTsU have recently revived. Various theses are being developed. There is every reason to expect at the council of fierce dogmatic disputes between the three groups that make up the VCU ("Renaissance", "Living Church" and "Ancient Apostle [with] the Church"). Recently, a new group of "Labor Church" was born behind the head of the VTsU under the slogan "Down with the bourgeois from the temples." This group intends to demand its presence at the council.

Certain symptoms of a schism among the laity are outlined. A compact group of laity "zhivotserkovtsy" has already formed in Moscow, which will soon issue its appeal with the slogan of expelling reactionary elements from the parish councils (the group includes representatives of the intelligentsia and the petty NEP bourgeoisie; there are no workers). Similar directives on the relevant line have been given locally.

The work of corrupting the church requires funds that must be placed at the disposal of the commission.

4. IN THE FIELD OF COMBATING SECTIONALITY.

The study of the current state of sectarianism made it possible for the commission to establish the existence of sects of two categories in the Soviet federation at the present time: first) [1] * definitely loyal to the Soviet regime and not posing any danger to it: Molokans, Dukhobors, Stundists, etc .; second) those inclined towards bourgeois restoration or anarcho-philistinism and having large connections in counter-revolutionary circles abroad. The latter include the Tolstoyans (especially the right wing, headed by Chertkov and Bulgakov), Baptists, evangelists, the union of Christian young people, etc.

Baptists and evangelicals who were completely loyal to the tsarist militarism in the past are characterized by an unwillingness to serve in the Red Army.

In order to fight counter-revolution, covered by the flag of sectarianism, the commission decided: 1. To clarify the articles of the law regulating the serving of military service by sectarians, so that the release could henceforth be applied only to sects that did not serve military service before the revolution; 2. With the reduction of the Red Army and its auxiliary personnel, consider it necessary to cleanse the Army, first of all, of elements unwilling to accept the solemn promise to defend the Republic with arms in hand. The leading personnel of the right wing of the Tolstoyans and "Christian young people" (in the amount of 7 people) were ordered to be sent abroad immediately. On the Baptists and Evangelists, the GPU has been instructed to collect material establishing their counter-revolutionary activities.

5. IN THE FIELD OF LEGAL MEASURES FACILITATING PARTIES FIGHT AGAINST RELIGION AND MYSTERY OF ALL KINDS.

The commission developed rules (approved by the Politburo) on the import of religious literature into the country, seeking to reduce this import to a minimum, considered a draft regulation on the procedure for registering religious societies, which poses a number of obstacles to organizing such societies on an all-Russian scale (the draft was submitted for detail to a special subcommittee consisting of Comrades Menzhinsky, Krasikova and Ravich). A number of issues related to our church policy and related to relations with some foreign states are under consideration.

At the last meeting of the commission, a report was heard by Comrade Krasikov about the decision of the ICSC - to liquidate the fifth department of the People's Commissariat of Justice (for the separation of church from state). The Commission spoke out in the strongest terms against such liquidation, which greatly complicates and complicates its work, and decided to appeal against the resolution of the ICSC both on the Soviet and party lines.

28 / XI-22 g.

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION N. N. POPOV.

- L. 41-44. A typewritten copy of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b); typewritten signature. On l. 41 stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the handwritten date "12 / XII-22" *and the entry number.*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.55, l. 158-161. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark, made for V.I.Lenin.

- Published according to the copy of RCKHIDNI: Historical Archives. 1993. No. 2. S. 83-85.

Notes and Comments:

[1] ** Printed above the line.*

[12] See # 24-6.

Note by A.S.Bubnov, head of the Agitprop Department of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), to the Politburo on the replenishment of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and a draft decision of the Politburo on this. November 29, 1922

No. 12-22

November 29, 1922 [year] [1] *

POLITBURO PK RCP

I ask at today's meeting of the Politburo to raise the question of introducing a representative of the MK of the RCP to the Commission on Anti-Religious Agitation and Propaganda.

HEAD] AGITPROPODELOM CC RCP

A. Bubnov

"" November 1922

DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE POLITBURO ON REPLENISHMENT OF THE ANTI-RELIGIOUS COMMISSION.

Introduce to the Commission as a full member of the representative of the MK RCP Comrade SORINA. (By agreement with Comrade ZELENSKY).

A. Bubnov

- L. 45. Typewritten original, signatures - autographs. The date is marked by the hand of A.S.Bubnov.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Mechanical loss, restored in meaning.*

Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. December 12, 1922

No. 12-23

In the Politburo Ts.K. R.K.P.

Chairman of the "anti-religious" commission N. [1] * N. [1] * Popova

Report .

During the reporting two weeks, the following facts of the commission's work can be noted.

1. In the field of anti-religious propaganda and agitation .

The plan of the book and brochure literature planned for publication through the publishing house "Krasnaya Nov" was reviewed and approved. Among this literature are the brochures Lafargue, "Christianity and Socialism" by Bebel and other works of the classics of Marxists. In addition, this refers to the translation from the German language and the publication in the form of a series of brochures of the old two-volume German Social Democratic publication "Kulturbilder" [2]*. By agreement of the commission and the Central Committee's Agitprop with the Krasnaya Nov 'publishing house, it is planned to send a responsible comrade to Berlin in the near future to purchase anti-religious literature available on the foreign market suitable for translation. There is an acute shortage of literature covering from a Marxist point of view the history of the Russian church and the relationship between church and state. With the complete absence of literary forces capable of filling this gap right now, the commission sees no other way out of the situation except to appeal to the Institute of the Red Professors, which is supposed to order a number of monographs [2] * on the history of the Byzantine and Russian churches.

The first issue, which was mentioned in the [3] * last report not yet released due to illness so. Flerovskii appointed editor, even though all the technical apparatus is ready.

The commission decided to refuse to publish the magazine, because in the near future M.K. will start publishing a popular anti-religious magazine.

2. In the field of the fight against the Tikhonov counter-revolution .

After the "head" of the old church in the person of the episcopate has been removed (see previous reports), the church counter-revolution has two more points of support: the reactionary part of the white clergy, who does not want to accept church reforms and is rather numerous in the localities, the civil church bureaucracy represented by its members parish councils, among which, the seizure of church valuables and related processes, discovered a huge number of former officers, high-ranking officials and landowners-nobles. Locally, it is noted that the clergy hostile to the reform, relying on the parishes led by reactionary elements, is taking the path of proclaiming the complete independence of individual church communities. Under the flag of this independence, there is a tendency to dissociate from V.Ts. pending the restoration of legitimate [4] * church authority.

The commission is firmly convinced that it is necessary to knock the church counter-revolution out of its last refuge, without hesitation by any means and without stopping before the most merciless repression. Therefore, the commission instructed G.P.U to take urgent measures for the most accurate account of all the reactionary elements that have settled in the parish councils and all active representatives of the clergy who continue Tikhon's policy in contact with them. In addition, as already mentioned in the previous report, directives were given to the localities regarding the division of the laity ...

In the near future, before the height of the conciliar agitation, thanks to the measures now being taken, it will be possible to remove a significant group of active supporters of the counter-revolution from the church.

The investigation into the Tikhonov case is moving forward. The former patriarch was recently interrogated [13] . Judging by Tikhon's

behavior during interrogation, one should not expect him to be irreconcilable and courageous in court. Further interrogations are pending.

In the area of the decay of the church .

The commission drew attention to the existence in the provinces of numerous renovation bodies that use our funds and tend to engage in mysticism and deepening of religious teaching instead of fighting the church counter-revolution. To combat this harmful bias, it is planned to close most of the bodies (for this [5] * it is enough to deprive them of subsidies) [5] *, the rest (in large regional centers of the church movement) are supposed to be taken under strict censorship in order to regulate their direction in accordance with the "church policy" [6] *.

As for the center, it was decided to support V.Ts.U. at the time of the cathedral agitation. Recently this magazine has not been published due to lack of funds ... It goes without saying that the magazine will be published under the strictest control.

Abstracts for the upcoming cathedral, drawn up by the famous St. Petersburg archpriest Vvedensky, have been delivered to the commission. The theses formulate the main tasks of the planned church reform.

According to thesis II, the Council should restore the value of Christianity in the consciousness of modern mankind through the correct arrangement of the external and internal life of the Russian Orthodox Church, which should, as a result, become a model for other Christian churches.

The author of the theses sees one of the main reasons for the current crisis in the church in the church counter-revolution.

“The ecclesiastical counter-revolution was a consequence of the age-old (from the 4th century) enslavement of the church by the state, which, outwardly supporting the church, actually strangled it, adapting it to serve itself, and not Christ. This cohabitation for many believers has become not only habitual but also natural. Therefore,

hard work is needed to break the age-old habit of serving the state. The church refers to the state according to the unshakable principle of "Caesarean Caesarean, God's - Gods".

Without confusing the tasks of church and state, and therefore without interfering in Soviet construction, the church, from the height of the supramundane, evangelical, does not deny itself the right of religious and moral judgment about the tasks of Soviet power. In them the church sees the realization by worldly [7] * methods of the truth of early Christianity ["].

Further, the theses speak at length about the reform of worship in the sense of its simplification and approximation to the understanding of the masses, about the democratization of the clergy (ordination of married priests to bishops) and the revision of all canons in accordance with the spirit of the times.

In Moscow and especially [8] * in St. Petersburg activity V.TS.U. and the Renovationist groups united in it at every step continues to stumble upon the fierce opposition of the united counter-revolutionary forces, which continue to control the majority of the parishes. Much more successful are the affairs of the renovationists in the provinces and especially in the outskirts (Siberia [9] *, South-East).

In the field of combating sectarianism hostile to Soviet power .

The measures outlined in the previous report (the seizure of a number of leaders of the right wing of the Tolstoyans and the union of Christian youths) were carried out. The collection of materials on Baptists and evangelists continues.

In the field of legal relations between the government and the church .

The commission had a judgment on the systematic refusal of representatives of the Catholic clergy to conclude agreements with the authorities on behalf of groups of believers on the transfer of churches to them. It was decided to instruct the People's Commissariat of Justice in no case to give up churches without

signing agreements to priests and keep them closed. But for the time being, refrain from surrendering them to other religious communities or using them in a civil order until the end of the ongoing negotiations between the People's Commissariat for Trade and Vatekan.

With tov [arischekiy] pr [evet] N. [10] * Popov.

- L. 48-50. (AND). Handwritten original, autograph.

- L. 46-47. (B). Uncertified typewritten copy of the time, made for the Politburo. Above L. 46 typewritten stamp "S. secret. " *On l. 46 by the hand of the assistant secretary of the Politburo E. M. Sherlina of the litter:* "Sent to members of the Politburo for information 20 / XII-22 under No. 9440 / s. E. Sh [erlin] ". *There is also a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a handwritten date* "4/1" *and an incoming number. Date at the end of the document by hand* "12 / XII-22".

- RCKHIDNI, f. 5, op. 2, d.55, l. 228-229. A typewritten copy of that time, certified by the typewritten signature of the Deputy Secretary of the Politburo M. N. Burakova, made for V. I. Lenin.

- Published according to the copy of RCKHIDNI: Historical Archives. 1993. No. 2. S. 86-88.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *C B revised by hand from originally printed* by P.P.

[2] * *B B written in a line by hand.*

[3] * *Next, one word has been crossed out.*

[4] * "legal" *B.*

[5] * *Inscribed above the line by the hand of N.N. Popov.*

[6] * *The following are crossed out by the* proper bodies.

[7] * peaceful B.

[8] * especially *B.*

[9] * *Next, one word is crossed out.*

[10] * *C B revised by hand from originally printed by* P.

[13] In the multivolume case of Patriarch Tikhon, which preserved the materials of the investigation of the patriarch and his accomplices, there is no protocol of this interrogation or mention of him in subsequent documents. The first volume of the case (v. 29 according to the current numbering) contains, in order, the protocols of the interrogations of Patriarch Tikhon in the GPU dated 05.05 1922 (p. 45-47), 09.05 1922 (fol. 86-88ob.), 31.08 1922. . (l. 89-93 ob.), 26.12 1922 (l. 100-101 ob.) and later. All of them are listed in the indictment in the case, starting from the interrogation of 09.05. The interrogation of 05.05 is not mentioned here, apparently because in the resolution of the specially authorized GPU Y.S. Agranov dated December 15, 1922 on the beginning of the inquiry into the case, the decision of the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal in the case of the Moscow clergy was named as the initiative document of the entire investigation (see No. 24 -6), issued in the evening 05.05 1922 - CA FSB, 1780, t. 29, fol. 12; Acts of His Holiness Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, later documents and correspondence on the canonical succession of the highest ecclesiastical authority. 1917-1943 M., 1994. S. 261. This fact indicates that even the most numerous documents of the case of Patriarch Tikhon reflect only the official side of the investigation.

Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. January 1, 1923

No. 12-24

IN THE POLITBURO of the Central Committee of the RCP

Chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission N. N. Popov.

REPORT .

During the reporting period, the following most important facts in the work of the commission can be noted.

I. In the field of ANTI-RELIGIOUS PROMOTION and AGITATION .

The newspaper "Atheist" began to appear. The preparatory work for this newspaper has been reported in previous reports. Some disagreements were caused by the question of its name between the commission on the one hand and the intended editor of the newspaper, comrade Flerovsky on the other. Comrade Flerovsky defended the title [1] * "Atheist", the commission spoke out against him. The Secretariat of the Central Committee resolved the issue in favor of Comrade Flerovsky.

So far, two issues of "The Atheist" have been released. Its circulation is 15,000. From the first number to December 29, 150 copies remained in the warehouse. Some difficulties are associated with the editorial board, since the appointed editor comrade. Flerovsky fell ill and is on a month and a half vacation.

Then the release should be noted urgently to the so-called. Komsomol Christmas brochures comrade Yaroslavsky "How the Gods Are Born." It was possible to distribute this brochure to some of the delegates to the 10th Congress of Soviets. At the last meeting, the commission heard the report of Comrade Stepanov, who returned from a lecturer trip to Ukraine. Comrade Stepanov delivered a number of anti-religious lectures in Kiev, Yekaterinoslav

and Kharkov. The lectures were held in a crowded auditorium and with great success.

IN THE FIELD OF FIGHT AGAINST CHURCH COUNTER-REVOLUTION .

On behalf of the commission, a special subcommittee consisting of comrades. Krasikov, Menzhinsky and Popov, a number of cases were considered about representatives of the clergy and laity caught in an active struggle against the church renovation movement under Tikhonov's slogans and a corresponding conclusion was given about them for exile or imprisonment.

For the second time, the GPU issued a directive on urgent registration (for the adoption of appropriate measures) of the most active members of parish councils, pursuing Tikhonov's policy and who could have an impact on the council elections from the laity. Given a two-week period for accounting.

In the localities, in the spirit of the well-known order of Patriarch Tikhon, issued two years ago in the event of Soviet repressions against the head of the church, individual parishes continue to declare themselves on the one hand apolitical, on the other hand autocephalous (that is, governing completely independently, not recognizing the existing church authority represented by V.Ts.U.) [14]... It goes without saying that political apathy and autocephaly serve to cover the Tikhonovism. In this spirit, the GPU was given explanations on the spot. V.Ts.U., whose interests are seriously hurt by autocephaly, from [o] his part, explained that autocephaly is a new form of church counter-revolution. Regardless of this, the organs of V.Ts.U. there are a lot of official statements complaining about the counter-revolutionary activities of certain individuals from the clergy and laity pursuing a policy of "autocephaly". On the basis of such statements, the persons indicated in them are taken into custody and cases are opened about them.

However, there are places where the Soviet government not only fails to support the renovationists against the "autocephalists", but

allows itself to be deceived by the democratic phraseology of the latter (complete independence of individual parishes, etc.) and almost patronizes autocephaly. Such a phenomenon, oddly enough, takes place in St. Petersburg, where, under the guise of autocephaly, Tikhonovism blossomed in the most magnificent color and the renovationists are in full enclosure. These glaring abnormalities are due to the fact that the church policy "in St. Petersburg is not being conducted by the GPU" under the control and leadership of the party organization, but by the department of administration of the Petrograd Soviet.

For a detailed clarification of the situation on the spot and the adoption of appropriate measures in St. Petersburg leaves the secretary of the commission and the head of the] 6th department] SOGPU comrade. Tuchkov [15] .

The investigation into Tikhon's case continues and is proceeding favorably so far.

In connection with the Congress of Soviets Commission has arranged a special meeting of secretaries and some zavagitpropov Gubernia and Regional Committees [16] . The meeting was attended by up to forty people. All outskirts and the most important central provinces were represented. Two reports were prepared for meeting [2] * on the progress of the work on the schism and preparation [3]* Cathedral, as well as on the immediate tasks of church policy in the party line. The abstracts of both reports were previewed and approved by the Plenum of the Commission. The first informational report was made by Comrade Samsonov, the second of an instructive character - Comrade. Popov. The main point of the second report was that it is necessary in the near future to bring to the end the destruction of the Tikhonov church organization and that it is premature to advance the struggle against renovationist trends before this task is completed. If we have managed [4]* to crush the episcopate, split the white clergy, while using their caste hatred of bishops and monks, then the destruction and decomposition of the main church organization of parish councils has not yet begun. The report indicated the need to begin

now the political preparation of the Tikhonov trial and, in general, to intensify the campaign against the ecclesiastical counter-revolution, especially emphasizing the role of monasticism and the episcopate, as well as the Black Hundred Cadet intelligentsia and bureaucracy that has found a place in the parish councils.

IN THE AREA OF DECOMPOSITION OF THE CHURCH .

At the last Congress of its delegates, the VTSU, fulfilling the assigned directives, decided to celebrate the new year in a new style. At the same congress, the theses of various groups on the upcoming church reform were considered. Theses are presented by the "Ancient Apostolic" Church and the "Living Church". Ancient Apostolic theses speak of the revival of primitive Christian communism, the abolition of rituals and sacraments, a radical revision of the canons, and the non-collection of money for church services. This group, by its very liquidationist program, cannot enjoy the sympathies of broad strata of the clergy, we need only for criticism from the left of the inconsistency and half-heartedness of the Living Church, and of little authority in its composition has recently been strengthened by the addition of the most prominent figure of the Renovationist movement, Archpriest Vvedensky, to it. who did not get along with Krasnitsky in the Living Church and was not satisfied with the too moderate program of Antonin's Renaissance - and perhaps even with the fact that the leader's place had already been taken there. A characteristic feature of this group is the demand for deprivation of electoral rights in parish councils of persons who do not enjoy such rights under the Soviet constitution.

On the contrary, the theses of the "Living Church" are rather stingy in terms of reformism, except for the questions about the deprivation of privileges of monks, the closure of monasteries and the admission of representatives of the white clergy to the bishops. The theses stand for the preservation of the [5] * centralized and hierarchical church organization with the [6] * administrative governing body V.TS.U. There is no doubt that the Living Church has recently managed to strengthen its influence on the white clergy

and create a mood among them, in which every priest dreams of seeing himself as a bishop in the near future.

The Antoninovskaya group "Revival" has not yet presented its theses. There is reason to believe that this group does not want to open cards, since they do not know what tactics they will adhere to at the cathedral. It is possible that the situation created there will push this group into the arms of the Tikhonites.

During a meeting of authorized representatives V.TS.U. strained relations between the individual groups that make up it. "Zhivotserkovtsy" as the most powerful organization tried to secure for themselves a solid [7] * majority [7] * in the Presidium at the expense of other groups. On this basis, a squabble arose, eliminated by the intervention of the GPU.

Outside V.TS.U. the recently formed Free Labor Church is developing its activity. A rather motley campaign united under its banner: the anarchist-biocosmist Svyatogor [8] *, a certain Zhilkin, who tried to form a Christian-socialist party in 1918, the disgraced Bishop Putyata, deprived of his episcopal rank for systematic violation of the 7th commandment, the former chairman of the Kaluga Union of Soviet Union who consecrated himself to the bishopric and took the name of Ionian, etc.

The "Free Labor Church" group proclaims the slogan "get the bourgeois out of the church" and resolutely rejects not only the sacraments and rituals, but also the dogmas and canons. She believes that the old Christianity has completely outlived itself, that the role of religion should be assumed by science (especially since it will soon be possible to even realize personal immortality by scientific methods) and churches should be turned into meteorological stations. The speech of the "Free Labor Church" in the press caused a response in all emigre newspapers. The leaders received a lot of abusive and welcoming letters. On December 31st, the first public performance of the Free Labor Church was to take place. An order was given through the administration department of the Moscow Council to provide her with an empty temple.

The commission discussed the question of the more frequent disputes in Moscow, at which our comrades speak together with the renovationist priests. Passion for such disputes reached the point that Sverdlovsk University decided to host a report by Comrade Sarabyanov, at which Vvedensky and three more priests were supposed to act as official opponents (within the walls of the university). The commission recognized such disputes (in the presence of two full-fledged parties with announcements on posters) as fundamentally unacceptable and distracting the renovationist priests from their direct task - the fight against Tikhonovism. The dispute already scheduled at the Sverdlovsk University by order of the commission through the Agitprop of the Central Committee was canceled, despite the most heated protests of the founders.

Recently, requests from the localities have become more frequent regarding what policy should be pursued in relation to the Mohammedan religious organization, within which a movement similar to the living church is beginning to develop. The commission decided to subject the issue to a special study and to hear a report from a knowledgeable person at one of its next meetings.

IN THE AREA OF REGULATING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE STATE .

The commission considered the petitions of the faithful Catholics received through the Central Committee from the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for the opening of churches, closed by order of the Soviet government. The commission strongly opposed the opening of churches until the Catholics fulfill the requirements of the constitution; the commission had a judgment on the petition of the German government to authorize the transportation of religious literature for the Mennonites. The commission found this petition to be completely illegal interference in Russian affairs, because the Mennonites are citizens of the RSFSR (more precisely, the Ukrainian SSR) and there is no clause in the Rappal Treaty authorizing the German government to satisfy the religious needs of one or another category of Russian citizens.

1st January 1923

N. Popov

- L. 51 —53 Typewritten original, signature - autograph. On l. 51 by the hand of the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A. M. Nazaretyan of the litter: "Send for information to the members of the PB . A. N [azaretyan] ". *To the right of it is a handwritten note on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 32, item 4 of October 19, 1922 (No. 12-15). There is also a stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a handwritten date* "6 / II-23." *and the incoming number.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Corrected by handwritten ink from the original printed* assignment.

[2] * *Corrected by hand ink from the original printed* perfectly.

[3] * *Corrected by handwritten ink from the originally printed* preparation.

[4] * *Further strikethrough in* order.

[5] * *Corrected by handwritten ink from the originally printed* cut.

[6] * *Further crossed out and.*

[7] * *Handwritten above line instead of typed* right.

[8] * *Corrected by freehand ink from the originally printed* Svetogor. 12 - 2640

[14] This refers to the Resolution of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon and the united presence of the Holy Synod and the Supreme Church Council No. 362 of November 20, 1920. terminated or communication with her will be difficult. This resolution was, in particular, the canonical basis for the creation of organizations of the foreign Russian Orthodox Church - Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 169; Regelson L. The Tragedy of the Russian Church. S. 269-270.

[15] EA Tuchkov's report to the head of the SO GPU TP Samsonov dated January 26, 1923, see No. P-157.

[16] NN Popov is referring to the meeting of provincial party and Soviet workers held by the ARC during the work in Moscow of the X All-Russian Congress of Soviets (December 26, 1922). For the preparation of this meeting, see the minutes of the ARC meetings No. 8 and 9 in comm. 56 to d. 12.

Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. January 17, 1923

No. 12-25

IN THE POLITBURO of the Central Committee of the RCP

Chairman of the "Anti-Religious" Commission N. N. Popov.

REPORT .

In the field of anti-religious agitation and propaganda, first of all, we should note the holding of the Komsomol Christmas, in the preparation of which the majority of the commission members took an active part, without interfering, however, in the area of direct political and practical leadership carried out within Moscow by the Moscow Party Committee. The data available to the commission make it possible to consider the holiday in the city of Moscow as a success in general, despite a number of minor and unnecessary tactlessness. We do not have a sufficient amount of materials about the celebration of the holiday in the provinces, but obviously there were even more tactlessness there (as an example, let us refer to the stopping of processions in front of churches in a number of cities during services with noisy demonstrations of anti-religious feelings).[1] * is located only in relation to Moscow and a small number of large centers. As a vivid example of "overdoing", we can refer to the circular of the Ukrainian PUR about the obligatory celebration of the Komsomol Christmas in the barracks with the participation of all Red Army soldiers. Such a circular was all the more inappropriate since religious prejudices in Ukraine, with barely three years of Soviet rule, are much more fresh and strong than in Russia. By the way, we consider it necessary to note that anti-religious propaganda in the Red Army units now requires a particularly skillful and tactful approach, because it is clear from the repeated official statements of the PUR that among the young Red Army men who come from the countryside, religiosity is still very strong.

In any case, the holding of future Komsomol holidays should require the development of completely clear and precise instructions in the center, excluding any bungling and unremitting observation of their holding. Only under these conditions can anti-religious holidays become a real instrument for destroying religious prejudices ... [2] * It should be noted that Krasnaya Novi's publishing activities are constantly expanding in the field of anti-religious literature. In recent weeks, brochures and books by V. Brown "Christianity and Communism", Yaroslavsky "How the Gods Will Be Born", Drews "The Myth of Christ", Dunaevsky "The Myth of Christ", Dasnyuk "About the Devil and

God ", Frumkina" Down with the rabbis ", Chemis" L. Feuerbach and His Time ", a number of editions are translated from German (" The Heretical Bible ","" Kulturbilder " [3] *, Bebel" Christianity and Socialism ", etc.). At a meeting of the editorial board of "Krasnaya Novi" a week ago, it was decided to immediately start preparing a whole series of brochures about the origin of the world and man, with a clear refutation of religious views on this score.

In the field of the fight against the ecclesiastical counter-revolution , a number of important facts can be noted that were obtained by the investigation against Patriarch Tikhon and that allow us to say with confidence that the position of the prosecution in this process will be a win-win. Tikhon and his right hand Nikandr [4] * [17]have already pleaded guilty to having issued an appeal to the believers regarding the confiscation of valuables in the hope that popular unrest will force the Soviet government to abandon the confiscation and that the use of church valuables for the needs of the hungry does not contradict any canons. To Tikhon's question on what grounds he qualified the confiscation of valuables as sacrilege and threatened the laity and priests with excommunication if the authorities' demands for the issuance of valuables were fulfilled, Tikhon could only answer that the Soviet government was negotiating with him about the seizure and obviously intended act with patriarchal sanction, and then suddenly interrupted negotiations and began to act independently. To a further question: is the appeal for sanction

to the patriarch obligatory for the authorities according to the canons, Tikhon had to answer in the negative. Even more interesting is Tikhon's testimony that in the fall of 1919, representatives of the tactical center, the national center and the Union of Renaissance held official negotiations with him on the future relationship between church and state after the overthrow of Soviet power. Indicated by Tikhon as[5] * participants in the deputation Kotlyarevsky, Leontyev, Shakhovskoy not only confirmed the testimony of the patriarch, but also added something. In particular, Leontyev testified that at the end of the conversation, Tikhon gave the deputation a patriarchal blessing for the overthrow of Soviet power.

Next Tikhon recognized the existence of his knowledge in Moscow in early 1918 [6] * th, the military organization of parish councils, supposedly destined for the protection of the patriarch. But the data available in the investigative acts on the case of the Central Committee of the AKP establish that the organization of parish councils was in contact with the Socialist-Revolutionary squads, the organization of house guards, groups of White Guard officers under the general leadership of a member of the Bureau of the Constituent Society faction and the chairman of the Moscow Provincial Committee, PS .R. Dr. Pavlov and pursued much broader goals than protecting the personal safety of the patriarch.

At present, the investigation is beginning to investigate Tikhon's connection with the White Guard church organizations abroad, which are still taking an active part in the monarchist movement.

In the area of church corruption during the reporting period, nothing significant should be noted. In V.TS.U. all life has come to a standstill thanks to the Christmas holidays. The secretary of the commission, comrade Tuchkov to straighten out the line of that policy in church affairs of the St. Petersburg Soviet leaders, which we characterized in the previous report. Comrade By the way, Tuchkov was given the task of getting to know in detail the case of Bishop (Roman Catholic) Tseplyak [7]*. This case is the Politburo without the knowledge of the anti-religious commission on the direct report of P.K. decided to put it to the hearing. Meanwhile,

according to the information available in the commission, partly received from the GPU, partly from the Polburo of the Central Committee, this matter is very poorly prepared. Comrade Krasikova from getting acquainted with the indictment.

Now, on the instructions of the commission, a group of comrades. Muslims working in the People's Commissariat for National Commissars and in the department of national minorities under the Central Committee are grouping and systematizing information about the situation of the Muslim church and about the existing within its currents for the production of a special report at one of the next meetings of the commission.

With communist greetings - N. N. Popov.

17 / 1-23 g.

- L. 54-55. Typewritten original, signature - autograph. On l. 54 stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the handwritten date "6 / II-23" *and the entry number.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Further crossed out for* now.

[2] * *Ellipsis in the text of the document.*

[3] * *Corrected by handwritten ink from the original printed by the* Rbildung Cult.

[4] * *Corrected by handwritten ink from the originally printed* Nikanor.

[5] * *Corrected by handwritten ink from* what we *originally printed* .

[6] * *Last digit corrected by hand from originally printed 7.*

[7] * *Fixed in document* Chickens.

[17] Nikandr (Nikolai Grigorievich Fenomenov, 05/02/1872 - 03/03/1933) - in 1922-1923. Archbishop Krutitsky, temporary administrator of the Moscow and Kolomna dioceses, the closest

assistant to Patriarch Tikhon; in 1922 he was arrested and was held in the case of Patriarch Tikhon, after the release of the patriarch he was exiled to Central Asia, after returning from exile from November 1925 to 1927 - the Metropolitan of Odessa.

Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Orgburo No. 89, paragraph 41 of January 18, 1923

No. 12-26

MOST SECRET

Listened:	Resolved:
41. About replenishment of the commission on anti-religious propaganda, (t. Bubnov).	To ask the Politburo to introduce a member of the RCP Central Committee, Comrade Yaroslavsky, to the commission on anti-religious propaganda, by appointing him Chairman of the commission. Comrade Popov NN to appoint Deputy] Chairman of the Commission.

Secretary of the Central Committee: V. Kuibyshev

- L. 57. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on January 20, 1923; signature - facsimile. Round stamp: "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY BOLSHEVIKS", *in the center with the monogram* "Central Committee". *Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed:* "Politburo". *A stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 45, item 9 of January 25, 1923 (No. 12-27). Stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the handwritten date* "27/1-23" *and the incoming number.*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.405, l. 207. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark (vacation); no signature. Pencil droppings: "<M. Burakova (?)> ". *Below is a stamp about the document's belonging to the office work of the meeting of the Organizing Bureau, minutes No. 89, p. 41 of January 18, 1923.*

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 45, paragraph 9 of January 25, 1923

No. 12-27

MOST SECRET .

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
9. On the replenishment of the commission on anti-religious propaganda (resolution] of the Orgburo No. 89 p. 41 of 18 / 1-23)	9. To approve the decision of the Organizing Bureau of 18 / 1-23 on the appointment of Comrade Yaroslavsky as chairman of the commission on anti-religious propaganda and comrade N. N. Popov as deputy chairman of the commission.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 56. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on January 25, 1923. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "com. BUBNOV, YAROSLAVSKY, NN POPOV, and ORGBURO ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.314, l. 16. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the form of Politburo resolutions. At the bottom right is the mailing record: "Extract com. Bubnov, Yaroslavsky, NN Popov and the Orgburo. " *L. 2:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Kamenev, Kalinin (candidate), Trotsky, Tomsky, Molotov (candidate), Stalin, Bukharin (candidate), Rykov. Central Committee members Smirnov, Rakovsky, Sokolnikov. Member of the Central Control Commission Solts ".

Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. February 16, 1923

No. 12-28

In the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP Report on the work of the anti-religious commission under the Central Committee. for the period from 30.1 to 15.11.23.

I. In the field of direct anti-religious propaganda and agitation .

1. The newspaper "Atheist" was turned into a weekly of the same name. There were 8 issues # [1] *. The magazine is improving with every no. Interest in him is growing. The circulation is increasing, albeit slowly. It turned out that many provincial committees did not know about the existence of the magazine. A special appeal to regional committees, provincial committees and regional committees was sent out together with a trial number ["] of the Atheist ["] with a proposal to systematically subscribe and distribute. Em. Was appointed editor. Yaroslavsky. The magazine contains a number of popular science articles and is currently campaigning in connection with the upcoming trials of Tikhon and Tseplyak.

2. An attempt has been made to unite under [2] * one general edition of [2] * "The Godless", published by the Central Committee, with the satirical magazine of the same name, published by MK MK. recognized (without any motivation) such an association inappropriate, which makes it impossible to use this body for the systematic conduct of any anti-religious campaigns.

3. Publishing house] "Krasnaya Nov" published and [3] * is preparing for printing [3] * a whole series of books and brochures. Some, such as [imer] "How the Gods Are Born", went their separate ways right after the release. Several books are being translated from him [etsky], Italian. Among them, such a major work as "Kulturbilder Wieder di Faffengershaft", published in editions, translated [3] * Eilderman's book - ["] Primitive communism and primitive religion

["] [4] *, out of print to the Tree "The Myth of Christ", Daenson "O God and the Devil "," Down with the Rabbis "by Frumkina and others.

4. In connection with the experience carried out throughout the country "Komsomolskaya Christmas", as well as the mood to organize the same antireligious [3] * performances at Easter, the Commission decided: to make a circular letter of the Central Committee of Komsomol Easter, offering to conduct anti-religious campaign organizations most seriously: not to make carnival , pay special attention to propaganda work, to literature, to the production of relevant plays, films, reports, lectures, etc. To the members of the RKSM Central Committee to explain political motives. These motives: preparation of the congress of the VTsU; dull irritation among the peasant masses; insufficient preliminary preparation of the masses; anti-Semitic sentiments [5] *; possible crop failure, which could be used as a result of godlessness, etc.

II. In the particular struggle with the church [3] * counterrevolution represented [3] * tihonovschiny .

The investigation into Tikhon's case ends hastily. The [6] * process ends by March 25th. The charge is brought under 4 p. P.

1) struggle with the decree on the separation [of the [church] from the state],

2) the fight against the opening of the [s] relics, 3) the opposition] And [ziyayu] Shcherkovnyh] Schennos]; 4) systematic counter-revolution. The number of accused and witnesses is limited to a minimum in order to quickly end the process.

III. In the area of decomposition [7] * Orthodox Church [7] * .

1) Permitted sending VTsU position to convene the cathedral, removing from this position a number of items on the recognition of the elected [8] * at the Council [8] * social revolution and unification of working people and the invitation of the Cathedral of staying on the bishops alone.

2) To expel the five most reactionary clergymen, the leaders of the autocephalous movement, planned by the St. Petersburg GPU.

IV. In the field of fighting other church organizations .

1) It was decided to hear Tseplyak's case in the Supreme Court in

Moscow before Tikhon's trial; materials for the charges are sufficient, only the center of gravity of the charges [3] * should be transferred to a purely counter-revolutionary [ion] activity Tseplyaka. As a result of setting up the Tseplyak case, the Pope's authorized representative came to Comrade Krasikov and negotiated the possibility of measures and [3] * concessions [3] * from the Pope in the [3] * sense of changing the composition of priests [3] *, which would establish more normal relations with the Soviet government and did not interfere with politics.

2) The Commission considered it more correct for the purposes of [3] * anti-religious] and political] propaganda [3] * not to return Bobol's power.

V. In the field of combating sectarian religious] groups.

1) Decided to create brochures [3] * directed against [3] * sectarian groups, especially hostile to the Soviet state (Baptists, Evangelicals, Tolstoyans).

2) The Charter of the Vegetarian Society, as leading anti-militarist agitation, should not be approved.

3) Prepare a report by Comrade Tuchkov on the influence of the sectarians on the Red Army for the next meeting.

Vi. In the field of legal measures to make it easier for parties to fight against religion and mysticism of all kinds .

1) Recognizing the decree on the non-use of minors' labor in the administration of divine services as generally correct, postpone it until the convocation of a church council.

2) Also temporarily, until further notice (until the main work on the disintegration of the church organization is completed), to postpone the liquidation of the] eparch [nal] administrations.

Chairman] of the Commission - Emelyan Yaroslavsky.

11/16/23.

Moscow.

- L. 61-63. Handwritten original, autograph.

- L. 58-60. A typewritten copy of that time, certified by the typewritten signature of the Deputy Secretary of the Politburo M.N.Burakova, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). On l. 58 in the upper left corner there is a pencil mark: " Arch [iv] p [oolit] b [yuro] ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Next, the* newspaper is *crossed out* .

[2] * ° *Inscribed above the line by the hand of E. M. Yaroslavsky instead of* publishing houses.

[3] * *Inscribed above the line by the hand of E. M. Yaroslavsky.*

[4] * *Next is crossed* out.

[5] * *Further, the* unknown is *crossed out* is relative.

[6] * *Next, crossed out* is assigned.

[7] * ° *Inscribed above the line by the hand of E. M. Yaroslavsky instead of the* struggle against sectarianism.

[8] * *Corrected above the line by the hand of EM Yaroslavsky instead of the* cathedral.

Note by the chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E.M. Yaroslavsky to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the issue of the Renovation Council on the agenda of the Politburo meeting. February 28, 1923

No. 12-29

In the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP.

I ask you to put on the order of the day of the meeting on March 1 the question of the forthcoming [1] * Church Council. The speaker is either me or the deputy comrade N. N. Popov.

Member of the Central Committee Emelyan Yaroslavsky

- L. 67. Handwritten original on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), autograph. The date, month and the last digit of the year in the form are marked by the hand of E. M. Yaroslavsky. In the upper left corner there is a handwritten label: " PB ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Inscribed above the line by the hand of E. M. Yaroslavsky instead of the crossed out* congress.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the postponement of the discussion of the question of the Renovation Council. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 52, paragraph 32 of March 1, 1923

No. 12-30

MOST SECRET.

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
32. - About the Church Council. (t. Yaroslavsky).	32. — Postpone until next meeting.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 65. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on March 1, 1923. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "To Comrade YAROSLAVSKY."

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 321, l. 46. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on the form of Politburo resolutions. At the bottom right is an entry about the mailing: "Extract to comrade Yaroslavsky." *L. 3:* "Present: PB members Kamenev, Stalin, Tomsky, Rykov. Candidates Comrades Molotov, Kalinin. Members of the Central Committee Comrades Sokolnikov, Rudzutak, IN Smirnov, Radek ".

Memorandum of the head of the VI branch of the Secret Department of the GPU E.A. Tuchkov to the chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E.M. Yaroslavsky on the directive to the Renovation Council on the procedure for governing the church. March 1, 1923

No. 12-31

Top secret

To comrade YAROSLAVSKY . -

MEMORIAL NOTE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

1) At the meeting of the commission on February 27, it was decided that the council completely passed the decree on the separation of church from state (1918) and thereby liquidated the Supreme Church Administration and its all local bodies (provincial, district diocesan administrations, etc.) [18] . - Thus, it would deprive the ministers of the cult of administrative subordination to the latter, that is, would present the right of free choice of priest to each community (church) - independently. -

2) Members of the VTsU are extremely reluctant to do this, they want the VTsU to exist after the cathedral. "They absolutely do not want patriarchy. -

3) When discussing the issue of church government, it is necessary to take into account the following: a) The laity have a negative attitude towards the renovation movement and the renovationist priests do not enjoy authority at all, with the abolition of the VCU, opponents of renewal will lose any fear and therefore they will have the opportunity to unite and to strengthen their activities (by the opponents of renovation one should understand the Tikhonovites). -

On the other hand, for the implementation of the decree by the cathedral, this moment is very convenient, for the priests-bosses are still in our hands. -

With the abolition of the VCU and its local bodies, renovation groups and [1] * will remain at the center of their [1] * bureaus , which should continue their activities after the cathedral. - These groups will, as now, along with the ideological side, fight against Tikhonovism. -

"1" March 1923.-

E. Tuchkov

- *L. 66. Typewritten original, signature and date number - autograph. Above there are handwritten notes: 1)* " send to the members of the PB "; *2)* "executed [executed] 3 / III-23 under No. 10594 / s". *There is also a stamp about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 54, item 11 of March 8, 1923 (No. 12-32). Stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with handwritten date* "13 / III-23 g." *and the incoming number.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Handwritten above the line.*

[18] For this FCA meeting, see com. 56 to d. 12.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a directive to the Renovation Council on the preservation of the Supreme Church Administration. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 54, paragraph 11 of March 8, 1923

No. 12-32

MOST SECRET

P. - About the church cathedral (Comrades Krasikov, Popov).

a) Recognize the need for the further existence of the VCU.

b) To propose to the commission to take measures to ensure that, when the council adopts a decree on the separation of church from state, in a sufficiently flexible form, the rights of V.Ts.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 64. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the 1930s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 323, l. 13. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original on letterhead

decisions of the Politburo. At the bottom right is the mailing record: "Extract com. Krasikov, Yaroslavsky, Popov " *(the last surname was added in red pencil). In the* "Materials" *column of the form, document No. 12-31 is indicated, but this document itself is not in the file. L. 1:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Zinoviev, Stalin, Trotsky, Tomsky, Molotov (candidate). Members of the Central Committee Comrades Sokolnikov, Andreev ".

Report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done. March 22, 1923

No. 12-33

In the Politburo Ts.K. R.K.P.

Deputy] President of the Anti-Religious Commission N. N. Popov

Report (for March 1-22) In the field of anti-religious propaganda and agitation . The work of the publishing sector "Krasnaya Novi" in the field of publishing anti-religious literature so far is mainly translated for [1] * reporting period [1] * [2]* increased pace. To date, 20 brochures and books have been published, 6 are in print, 3 are being prepared. Attempts are being made to create literature on the history of the church in Russia. The first step in this regard will be the publication of Strumilin's brochure "God and Freedom". It is worth noting that Comrade I. Stepanov's pamphlet, Tasks and Methods of Anti-Religious Propaganda, which has just been published, sums up the work in this area. I. Brekhnichev's brochure on the upcoming Tikhon trial was published. A special collection and book by Comrade Yaroslavsky “How Gods and Goddesses Are Born, Live and Die” is published for the Komsomol Easter.

The Commission continued to publish the weekly newspaper "Bezbozhnik" (not to be confused with the magazine of the same name MK), the circulation of which is growing [3] * (from 10 [4] * to 20 thousand) [3] *. The commission continues to hold the opinion that the main method of anti-religious enlightenment of the masses should be in-depth propaganda, that the religious prejudices of the masses should be seriously reckoned with and should be approached with caution. Standing on this point of view, not so long ago developed in a special circular [5] * Ts.K. dated [6] * February 22, 1922 [6]* The Commission could not pass by such a publication as the magazine "Atheist" organ of M.K. On the first page of the last issue of this magazine, you can find the slogan: "Down with this bastard religion." Along with bullying notes [7]* character addressed to dark religious elements (pious old women, etc.) that can be used for

demagogic purposes, in the magazine it comes to open advice to use icons for firewood. The commission believed and still believes that there is absolutely no need to publish such a magazine for the communists and, in general, people who have broken with religion. As for the hesitant or religious people, among them he is only able to increase fanaticism. In addition, the bungling methods of agitation, since they reach the provinces, push the local party comrades to excesses, from which they used to restrain themselves. Recently, we have had a whole wave of such excesses, expressed in the massive closure of churches, illegal termination of contracts, arbitrary imposition of clergy. The same can be said about the sectarians. The commission found itself compelled, through a number of departments, to take measures to prevent excesses that angered broad masses of believers, especially in the countryside. Proceeding from the same considerations, the commission conducted through the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee. decree banning street carnivals on Easter[8] *. The issue of the direction of the Moscow magazine "Bezbozhnik" has also been brought up for discussion by the Organizing Bureau for about a month, but for various reasons it was removed from the agenda several times.

In recent years, the commission has been busy discussing measures to counter the threatening growth of Baptism and evangelism. In the field of agitation and propaganda, a plan has been outlined for the publication of anti-sectarian literature, which is currently being implemented. Brochures ordered [9] * volume Krasikov, Brekhnichev, Yaroslavsky and Bonch-Bruevich.

In the field of combating the church counter-revolution .

Much attention is paid to the processes of Tikhon and Tseplyak. After the Politburo gave a special [10] * orders [11] * in connection with the production of both processes special commissions [12] *, the problem of anti-religious propaganda committee was concentrated in the area. In addition to Brekhnichev's brochure "Krasnaya Novyu" (without specifying the firm), a brochure by Archpriest Vvedensky was published, exposing

Tikhon from the point of view of "true Christianity." A brochure on the counter-revolutionary work of the church during the civil war on the other side of the front has been put into print. The indictment in the Tsepljak case was widely used by Polbureau under [13] * guidelines [13]* commissions. The central press was given extensive extracts from the investigative material in the Tikhon case (that part of it that can be published before the trial). For the Tikhonov trial, two special numbers of the "Help Gazeta" were issued for the province.

The commission had a [14] * judgment on the measure of punishment from the point of view of the church policy pursued by us and spoke out against the imposition of capital punishment.

The Commission discussed the issue of abuse of the papal [15] * throne in connection with the case Tseplyaka and came to the decision not to change the conductive solid rate in relation to the Catholic Church.

Since the adoption of the tops of the Baptists and Evangelicals course is clearly hostile to [in] power (anti-militarist propaganda, that these sects are not engaged in any bourgeois country, the secret training of children contrary to the decree, the increasingly frequent anti-Soviet statements Baptist [16] * preachers in the field) and bearing in mind threatening the growth of both sects in the countryside, the commission decided to carry out an operation in the centers in order to obtain the maximum amount of material exposing the Baptists of counter-revolutionary [17] * activities18 * and on the basis of this material to send their leaders abroad. At the same time, it was decided to start a systematic influence on the Baptist lower classes in order to incite them against the center, involving the sect in counter-revolutionary politics. There are reasons [19]* think that the method of explosion from the inside will give good results.

In the area of the decay of the church .

Preparations for the cathedral continued at an accelerated pace. The Renovationists managed to win important victories in St. Petersburg and Moscow, where the influence of the Tikhonites and

autocephalists (hidden Tikhonists) still prevailed. In St. Petersburg, after several fights, the Kazan and Isakievsky [20] * cathedrals passed into the hands of the Renovationists . In Moscow, a general meeting of deans (several dozen people) adopted a resolution condemning Tikhon and full recognition of the Soviet regime and the "social revolution."

Recently, the congress of the All-Russian Union of Communities of the Ancient Apostolic Church ended, which was attended by representatives of 26 dioceses. Of all those presented inside V.Ts.U. Renovationist groups "Old Apostolic" is the most leftist, preaching not only unconditional recognition of Soviet power, but at the same time a real church reformation. The congress adopted a number of resolutions. The resolution on attitudes towards Soviet power reads:

“Soviet power is now the only power in the world that is really fighting for social truth. The congress with all the strength of its moral authority supports the great principles of Soviet power, its undertakings aimed at the good of Russia and all working mankind ... [21] *

By this resolution, we, members of the congress in the name of Christ the Savior, condemn Tikhon's churchliness, as having nothing in common except for a name with the Church of Christ the Savior. " The resolution on laity organizations recognizes the need to dissolve and reorganize all parish councils immediately, since most of the members of these parishes are imbued not with love for Christ, but with hatred of the existing political system and a secret hope that through the church this system will collapse. The new parish councils should be headed by people who do not exploit other people's labor.

Of the canonical resolutions, the following points should be noted:

1) admitting women to church ministry,

2) "the fight against superstitions [22] *, prejudices and religious deceit created by the ignorant and deliberately malicious pastorship (mainly monasticism)",

3) the prohibition of monks to be bishops.

A significant number of outstanding preachers and former missionaries adjoin the ancient apostolic church. Some of them act on ideological motives. Among the broad masses of the white clergy, however, [23] * the point of view of the ancient [24] * Apostolic Church [24] * is unlikely to find sympathy, since there is no inclination for a broad reformation, and the fight against superstition and prejudice will primarily hit the pocket of a lot of village priests. Most of the Renovationists at the council will obviously follow not the "Ancient Apostolic" but the "Living Church" headed by Archpriest Krasnitsky, who believes that they will go beyond "recognition of Soviet power, the social revolution and the world unification of workers" (from the platform of the "Living Church") [25]* also does not follow those who qualify any church reformation as heresy (except for the demand for the transfer of power in the church from black clergy to white clergy, which will undoubtedly be followed by a mass of [26] * priests).

Taking into account that Tikhonovism is still strong in the localities and can be solidly represented at the council, the commission thinks to adhere to the following tactics at the council: 1) exclude from the scope of discussion its canonical questions, which will undoubtedly introduce squabbling and schism, 2) reduce the council to a solemn demonstration recognition of Soviet power, decree [1] * on the separation of the church from the state [1] * and the condemnation of Tikhon (both the Living [,] and the Old Apostolic Church are equally eager to do this), after the cathedral, let the most fierce internal struggle flare up, since the danger of Tikhonovism will weaken ...

Due to the postponement of the party congress and Tikhon's trial to mid-April, the council was postponed until April 30.

In the field of regulating relations between the state and the church.

After lengthy work, the commission finally outlined the procedure for registering religious societies, which have not yet been registered, which gave rise to a lot of misunderstandings in the localities. Based on this order, V.Ts.U. (which is expected to elect a council), while maintaining them for forced-punitive rights in relation to the lower church [1] * bodies. Thus, the hierarchy is still preserved in the [27] * Church [27] *, and the power remains in the hands of the authorities a powerful means of influencing church politics insofar as the church center takes a definite political position.

22 / III-23

N. Popov.

- L. 73-78. (AND). Handwritten original, autograph.

- L. 68-72. (B). Typewritten original, signature - autograph. On l. 68 by the hand of the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A. M. Nazaretyan of the litter: "PB. Send out to PB members for information. A. Shazaretyan] ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Inscribed above the line by N.N.Popov's hand.*

[2] * *Corrected in a line by N. N. Popov's hand from* goes

[3] * *Inscribed above the line by the hand of N. N. Popov instead* continues to grow .

[4] * *C B corrected from originally printed* 11 to 19 *and then to* 10.

[5] * *C B corrected by hand above a line from the original printed* magazine.

[6] * *So in the document. Inscribed above the line by N.N.Popov's hand.*

[7] * *C B revised by hand from originally printed by the* publisher.

[8] * Easter *B.*

[9] * c orders B.

[10] * special *B.*

[11] * order *B.*

[12] * *C B written in ink by hand in the space left in the line.*

[13] * *Inscribed above the line by N. N. Popov's hand instead of* under control *.*

[14] * ° *The following is crossed out .*

[15] * *C B revised by hand from the original printed* master.

[16] * *C B corrected by hand from the originally printed* bandit.

[17] * *Corrected in a line by N. N. Popov's hand from* counter-revolution.

[18] * *Inscribed above the line by the hand of N. N. Popov.*

[19] * base *B.*

[20] * Isaakovsky *B.*

[21] * *Ellipsis in the text of the document.*

[22] * superstition *B.*

[23] * ° *The following is crossed out .*

[24] * *Inscribed above the line by the hand of N.N. Popov.*

[25] * *Then* go *crossed out .*

[26] * *C B revised by hand from the originally printed* little.

[27] * *Inscribed above the line by N.N.Popov's hand instead of* church *.*

Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Organizing Bureau No. 2, item 1 of May 2, 1923

No. 12-34

MOST SECRET.

Listened:	Resolved:
1. About the replenishment of the anti-religious commission under the Central Committee with representatives of the MC. (Comrade Bubnov).	To ask the Politburo to include in the anti-religious commission as a representative of the MK comrade. V. Likhachev with deputy comrade M. Zhakov [1] *.

Secretary of the Central Committee J. Rudzutak

- L. 80. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on May 3, 1923; signature - facsimile. Round stamp "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY OF BOLSHEVIKS", *in the center with the monogram* "Central Committee". *Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed:* "Politburo". *Above is a handwritten note referring to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 3, item 29 of May 10, 1923 (No. 12-35).*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.445, l. 11. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark (vacation); no signature. The same handwritten revision as on the APRF copy. A stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), minutes No. 2, paragraph 1 of May 2, 1923

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Corrected by hand from the originally printed* Jacob.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 3, paragraph 29 of May 10, 1923

No. 12-35

MOST SECRET.

LISTENED.	IT WAS RESOLVED.
29. About the replenishment of the anti-religious commission under the Central Committee by the representative of the MK t. Likhachev, deputy t. Zhakov. (Resolution] Orgburo No. 2 p. 1 of 2.V).	a) Comrade. Likhachev to transfer to MK with dismissal from work in NKVT. b) Approve the decision of the Organizing Bureau to replenish the anti-religious commission under the Central Committee of Comrade Likhachev, deputy - Comrade Zhakova.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 79. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the second half of the 1920s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.334, l. 41. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the letterhead of the Politburo resolutions, the column "We listened to" *on a typewriter, the column* "Decided" *by hand, in black and green ink. At the bottom right is the mailing record:* "Extract com. Krasin (1), Zelensky, Yaroslavsky, Orgburo, Syrtsov (all) ". *On the right is the seal of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b). There is no list of those present in the case.*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.445, l. 12. Typewritten statement on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on May 10, 1923; signature - facsimile of I. V. Stalin. Round stamp: "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY BOLSHEVIKS", *in the center with the monogram* "Central Committee". *Above the text of the extract, the*

mailing address is printed: "com. ZELENSKY, YAROSLAVSKY, ORGBURO . SYRTSOV ". *Above is the stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), minutes No. 2, item 1 of May 2, 1923 (No. 12-34).*

Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on replacing the Central Committee of the RCP (b) in the Anti-Religious Commission. From the minutes of the meeting of the Organizing Bureau No. 11, paragraph 21 of June 4, 1923

No. 12-36

Secret

MK request for the introduction of Comrade. Kostelovskaya to the anti-religious commission instead of Comrade. Zhakov.

(Resolution] of the Organizing Bureau of 1 .VI. S., Pr [report] No. 10 p. 3).

a) Enter comrade. Kostelovskaya Deputy Comrade Likhachev to the anti-religious commission.

b) Submit the question to the Politburo for approval.

SECRETARY OF THE CC V. MOLOTOV

- L. 86. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the CPSU Central Committee - RCP (b); typewritten signature. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "Politburo".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 345, l. 47. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on June 5, 1923; signature - facsimile. Round stamp: "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY BOLSHEVIKS", *in the center with the monogram* "Central Committee". *Under the text of the extract, a pencil entry of the results of voting in the Politburo: "*Zinoviev - for. Kamenev - I do not agree, comrade Likhachev should participate in the commission. Bukharin is in favor. Tomsky is for ".

Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Orgburo No. 12, paragraph 27 of June 8, 1923

No. 12-37

Secret

On the inclusion of a representative of the People's Commissariat of Education in the anti-religious commission of the Central Committee .

(Comrade Bubnov).

a) To include in the anti-religious commission comrade Yakovlev.

b) Submit the question for approval by the Politburo.

SECRETARY OF THE CC Y. RUDZUTAK

- L. 88. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU - RCP (b); typewritten signature. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "Politburo".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 345, l. 51. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on June 11, 1923; signature - facsimile.

Round stamp: "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY BOLSHEVIKS", *in the center with the monogram* "Central Committee". *Under the text of the extract, a pencil entry of the results of voting in the Politburo:* "For Stalin. <...> [1] *. Zinoviev is in favor. Kamenev - for [2] *. Bukharin is in favor. Kalinin is in favor. Tomskiy - for (both extracts) ", *ie for extracts No. 12-36 and 12-37.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *One word is illegible* .

[2] * *Further crossed out in pencil* Tomsky.

Note by the chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E.M. Yaroslavsky when Patriarch Tikhon was sent to the Supreme Court of the RSFSR to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). June 19, 1923

No. 12-39

June 19 [i] 1923 In the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP. I ask you to put on the agenda of the next meeting the following questions of the anti-religious] commission.

1) Directive regarding Tikhon's appeal to the Upper [ovny] Court.

2) Information about the congress of the Muslim] spirit [of the rule] and the congress of the Buddhist spirit [of the rule] of the Kalm [ytsk] region [asti].

3) The request of the anti-religious] committee [issii] to accelerate the approval of the resolution of the XII Congress on anti-religious] propaganda] [19] .

Chairman] of the Commission Emelyan Yaroslavsky

Application:

Tikhon's appeal to Verhsud.

- L. 82. Handwritten original on the letterhead of a member of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission of the RCP (b), autograph. Date, month and last digit of the year of the date in handwritten form. The same date is stamped at the top of the document.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 60, d.25, l. 53. An uncertified typewritten copy of a later period from a copy certified by the Secretary of the Politburo A.G. Slinko.

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a note by Ye. M. Yaroslavsky with a short formulation of the items he proposed for the agenda of the Politburo meeting: "Yaroslavsky in PB: 1) About Tikhon. 2) About the Congress of the Muslim] clergy. 3) On the approval of the

resolutions of the XII Congress on anti-religious] propaganda ". On the note there is a handwritten note: "D [ate (?)] / Antireligious". (D. 81).

[19]The XII Congress of the RCP (b), held in Moscow on April 17-25, 1923, adopted a resolution "On the organization of anti-religious agitation and propaganda." The resolution called for the deployment of "in-depth systematic propaganda, clearly and convincingly revealing to every worker and peasant the lie and contradiction to his interests of any religion." Measures were envisaged to expand lecture and publishing activities, to train "agitators and propagandists in the fight against religion", to attract school teachers to this work, etc. any insult to the feelings of believers, leading only to the consolidation of religious fanaticism. " They condemned "deliberately rude methods, often practiced in the center and in the field, mockery of objects of faith and cult "- the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in resolutions and decisions of congresses, conferences and plenums of the Central Committee. T. 2.1917-1924. 8th ed. M., 1970.S. 469-472.

The documents of the Politburo and the Anti-Religious Commission of the spring and summer of 1923 reflect that tactical turn in the methods of anti-religious struggle, which was associated with the changing balance of forces in the party leadership. A further development of the line on condemnation of "deliberately rude methods" of the struggle against religion and the church, outlined already in the resolution of the XII Party Congress, was the development and adoption, on the initiative of LB Kamenev and JV Stalin, of circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) No. 30 about "excesses" in the anti-religious campaign - see No. 12-44, 12-49, 12-53, 12-56 (see also No. 12-33 - the same motives in the ARC report, March 23, 1923).

Proposed by the Chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E.M. Yaroslavsky, a draft directive of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to the Supreme Court in connection with the statement of Patriarch Tikhon. June 19, 1923

No. 12-40

Draft directive to the Supreme Court regarding Tikhon's statement.

"In view of the repentance expressed in Tikhon's statement for the crimes he has committed and [1] * dissociation from the White Guards, it is possible, without stopping the investigation, to release Tikhon from custody by publishing this judgment together with Tikhon's appeal to the Court."

- L. 83. Handwritten original on the letterhead of a member of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission of the RCP (b), autograph of EM Yaroslavsky. Date, month and last digit of the date in handwritten form. In the date, the month has been corrected to "VI" *from the original* "VII".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 60, d.25, l. 53. An uncertified typewritten copy of a later period from a copy certified by the Secretary of the Politburo A.G. Slinko.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Hereinafter, the* statements about.

Note by LB Kamenev and JV Stalin to the People's Commissar of Justice DI Kurskiy on the inadmissibility of "prohibiting the teaching of religion with a group character." July 2, 1923

No. 12-41

Moscow. July 2, 1923

Comrade KURSKY.

Amendments concerning the college of defenders and addition to Art. 121 of the Criminal Code concerning the prohibition of teaching religion with a group nature [20] are absolutely unacceptable and we propose not to accept them in any case. If the opinion of the Commission disagrees with [1] * us [1] *, we will transfer the question to the Politburo on 3/7/23.

Kamenev Stalin

- *L. 89. A typewritten copy of that time, certified by A. Nazaretyan, Assistant Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), he also wrote the signatures by hand. Below is a handwritten outgoing number with the date* "2 / III-23".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Inscribed above the line by the hand of A. M. Nazaretyan.*

[20] Article 121 of the RSFSR Criminal Code of 1922 states:

"Teaching religious beliefs to minors and minors in public or private educational institutions and schools is punishable by forced labor for up to one year."

- SU. 1922, No. 15, P. 220.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on replacing the Central Committee of the RCP (b) in the Anti-Religious Commission. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 14, paragraph 32 of July 3, 1923, No. 12-42

MOST SECRET.

LISTENED. IT WAS RESOLVED.

By polling the members of the Politburo of the PK by phone from 28. VI-23.

32. Resolution] of the Organizing Bureau of 4.VI.23 (pr [report] No. 11, p. 21) on the introduction of Comrade Kostelovskaya, at the request of the MK, into the anti-religious commission as Deputy Comrade Likhachev instead of Comrade Zhakov. Approve.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 85. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the second half of the 1920s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 345, l. 46. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on June 29, 1923. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "Com. Kostalevskaya, Yaroslavsky, MK - Comrade Mikhailov ". *Under the text of the extract is printed:* "The results of the vote:" for "- Stalin, Molotov, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Tomsky"; *then it is written by hand:* "Kamenev (with a statement that comrade Likhachev must be on the commission)." *In the upper left corner litter in red ink by the hand of VM Molotov:* "For signature." *Sheet 1:*"Present: Members of the Politburo: Comrades. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, Tomsky. Politburo candidates: Bukharin, Kalinin, Molotov. Members of the Central Committee of the RCP: Comrades. Voroshilov, Dzerzhinsky, Lashevich, Pyatakov, Radek, Smirnov, Sokolnikov, Uglanov, U khans, Chubar. Members of the Pres [idium] Central Control Commission: Comrades. Kuibyshev, Solts, Schwartz, Yaroslavsky ".

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 14, paragraph 33 of July 3, 1923

No. 12-43 [21]

Secret

By polling the members of the Politburo of the Central Committee by telephone on 28.VI.23.

Resolution] Orgburo PC from 8.VI. from. (pr [report] No. 12. p. 27) on the introduction of Comrade Yakovleva as a representative of the NKPros into the anti-religious commission.

Approve.

SECRETARY OF THE CC - I. STALIN

- L. 87. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the CPSU Central Committee - RCP (b); typewritten signature. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "Com. Yakovleva, Yaroslavsky ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 345, l. 50. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on June 29, 1923; signature - facsimile. Round stamp: "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY BOLSHEVIKS", *in the center with the monogram* "Central Committee". *Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed:* "com. Yakovleva, Yaroslavsky ". *For the list of those present, see No. 12-42.*

Notes and Comments:

[21] In the draft minutes of the Politburo meeting (APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 345, sheets 49 and 48) there are two notes of N. N. Popov: the first with the date "June 1923" (the number is not entered), second without date. The first is entitled " Draft Resolution of the Politburo " On Replenishing the Anti-Religious Commission . "NN

Popov proposes the following text of the resolution:“ Introduce to the commission: Comrade Likhachev from M.K.R.K.P., Comrade V.N. Yakovlev . from the People's Commissariat for Education. "The second note was addressed to N. N. Popov to the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A. M. Nazaretyan and is accompanying to the first:" At the request of Comrade Yaroslavsky, I am sending you a draft resolution of the Politburo on replenishing the anti-religious commission.

Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on anti-religious propaganda. From the minutes of the meeting of the Plenum No. 3, paragraph 4 of July 4, 1923

No. 12-44 [22]

MOST SECRET .

Listened:	Resolved:
4. Approval of the resolutions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of 26-27 / II-23 on the report of the Politburo and the Council of People's Commissars. (Comrade Kamenev) [23] .	4 [24] . 7) Considering that anti-religious propaganda has become undesirable in some organizations (mass closing of churches, etc., campaigning for the celebration of Monday, etc.) - instruct the Politburo to urgently send the appropriate circular to the organizations.

Secretary of the Central Committee:

- L. 90. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on July 4, 1923. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address: "Comrade. YAROSLAVSKY ". *Below is a handwritten note referring to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 25, item 12 of August 16, 1923 (No. 12-55).*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d.100, l. 10. Draft minutes of the Plenary meeting. The original on the form of the decisions of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Column "Heard" *on a typewriter, in the column* "Decided" *instead of the text of a note by hand:* "See material " *(l. 11-12). At the bottom right is the mailing record:* "Extract com. Stalin (all), Kamenev (all), Rykov (3, 4), <...> [1] * (3, 4), Pyatakov (3, 4), Frumkin (5), Sokolnikov (6), Yaroslavsky (7) ". *In the column* "Materials" of the *form it is written:* "without materials". *Below is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number. L. 5:*"Attended by: members of the Central Committee of the RCP, comrades. Bukharin, Voroshilov, Dzerzhinsky, Evdokimov,

Zalutsky, Zelensky, Zinoviev, Kalinin, Kamenev, Kviring, Komarov, Korotkov, Lashevich, Mikhailov, Molotov, Petrovsky, Pyatakov, Radek, Smirnov, Sokolnikov, Stalin, Sulimov, Tomsky, Uglanov, Ukhanov Kharitonov, Chubar. Candidates for members of the Central Committee of the RCP: Comrades Badaev, Bubnov, Lepse, Morozov, Skrypnik, Uryvaev, Chudov. Members of the Presidium] Central Control Commission: Comrades. [2] * Kiselev, Kuibyshev, Solts, Schwartz, Shkiryatov, Yaroslavsky. Candidates for members [s] of the Presidium of the] Central Control Commission: com. Krivov, Korostelev, Chutskaev ".

- *Ibid, l. 12. Draft minutes of the Plenary meeting. Typewritten original. In paragraph 4.7) of the right column, the originally printed* "anti-revolutionary" was *corrected by hand to* "anti-religious". *The word* "organizations" *is inscribed above the line with the same hand.*

- *Ibid, l. 14. Draft minutes of the Plenary meeting. Handwritten rough script. The left column is missing. Clause 4.7) goes under the number* "8". *The text in parentheses was initially missing. It is written at the bottom of the sheet and entered into the item using the caret mark. Instead of* "etc." *previously there were* "synagogues". *The word* "appropriate" *is written above the line. The word* "organizations" is *missing.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *The last name is illegible.*

[2] * *Further deleted* Kiselev, Korostelev, Krivov.

[22] As early as May 15, 1923, the Anti-Religious Commission under the Central Committee of the RCP (b) (for the list of those present see com. 13 to d. 25) considered under clause 4 the question "On the closure of churches" (Minutes No. 21). The decision was made:

"IV. Instruct the GPU to find out about each individual case of the closure of churches and in case of violation of the existing rules on this matter, bring the perpetrators to justice.

Instruct Comrade POPOV to lead through Ts.K. an indication and clarification about caution in closing churches. - Also instruct the GPU to give on its own line. "

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. sixteen.

From the minutes No. 22 of the meeting of the same commission dated May 22, 1923:

"PRESENT: comrades. SMIDOVICH, YAROSLAVSKY, MENZHINSKY, POPOV, KRASIKOV, STARLING, TUCHKOV.

INVITED on questions about the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church and the Muslim Congress of Comrades. DEMINSTEIN and PETERS.- "

“Listened: [...]

3. On the closure of churches, synagogues and other [their] prayer houses ”.

“Resolved: [...]

[3.] 1. In view of the mass closure of churches and a number of excesses on this basis, to ask the Politburo of the Central Committee to urgently send a circular to all party bodies to suspend the closure of churches.

2. About those churches, which are closed and not used until now, to propose, through the NKYU, the Governmental Executive Committees to reconsider the issue of the return of churches to believers if there are requests from the latter.

3. Instruct Comrade SMIDOVICH to give instructions from the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, so that the places should be more attentive to the statements of believers about the closure of churches.

4. Instruct Agitprop Ts.K. send an article to Pravda on the cautious approach to the closure of churches, mosques, synagogues, etc. ”.

“Listened: [...]

6. On the wrong actions of the Vladimir and Murom authorities, expressed in the mass closure of churches. "

“Resolved: [...]

6. Send Comrade TUCHKOV to Vladimir and Murom to familiarize himself with the situation on the spot and to give clarifications and instructions to the local authorities on church issues. ”

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. eighteen.

At the next meeting of the commission on June 5, 1923 (minutes No. 23), EA Tuchkov's report “on the trip to the Vladimir province. on church affairs "and it was decided" not to object to the voluntary surrender of church valuables [,] what to instruct Comrade. To inform Tuchkov to Vladimir ”(ibid., Fol. 23). This decree clarified that the softer course in relation to the church did not at all abolish the seizure of church values.

[23] Draft minutes No. 2 of the meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) dated 26-27.06 1923 contains clause 1 "Report of the Politburo (Comrades Zinoviev, Stalin) and the report of the Council of People's Commissars (Comrade Kamenev)", the decision on which reads :

"1. a) Reports of Comrades Zinoviev, Stalin and Kamenev take note.

6) To formulate resolutions to form a commission consisting of comrades. Quiring, Lashevich, Pyatakov, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Sokolnikov, Smirnov, Schwartz and Dzerzhinsky. Convening for Comrade Kamenev ".

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d. 99, l. 1, 20.

[24] In the draft minutes No. 3 of the meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) dated July 4, 1923, in the column “Decided” of paragraph 4, there is a preamble before the texts of the subparagraphs:

"Having heard the reports of the Politburo and the Council of People's Commissars, the Central Committee of the RCP instructs

the P / Bureau to develop and carry out the following measures, respectively, in the party and Soviet order:"

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 2, d.100, l. 2, 11.

Letter from the assistant to the head of the V section of the NKYu V. A. Shumov to the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G. V. Chicherin regarding the Vatican's protests against the persecution of Christians in the USSR. July 9, 1923

No. 12-45 [25]

Secret

In N.K.I.D.

Comrade CHICHERINA.

Despite Mr. Pizzardo's assurances that in order to get acquainted with the situation of Christians and the Catholic Church in Russia, he did not have and does not have any need and desire to use the data of "Russian immigrants who incorrectly inform the public opinion of Western Europe" and that official documents, such as the act accusations and reasons for the court decision against the prelates and Catholic priests of Petrograd [26] , - the 5th Department of the People's Commissariat of Justice must state that Mr. Pizzardo's awareness of the actual situation of religion and religious societies [1]* and the church policy of the Soviet Government in the USSR is extremely inadequate and is based on sources either [distorted or not verifiable by their vague and fantastic nature. So the first article 119 of the Criminal Code, concerning religious issues (chapter III violation of the rules on the separation of the church from the State of the Criminal Code, Collection of Legislation] No. 15-22) is expounded by Mr. Pizzardo as follows: “any and the central authorities or to resist them is punishable by the punishment under Art. 83 even if there is no evidence of counter-revolutionary intentions. " In reality, the exact content of Art. 119 is [2]*: “The use of the religious prejudices of the masses for the purpose of overthrowing the Workers 'and Peasants' government or for inciting resistance to its laws and regulations is punishable by punishment under Art. 69 of the Criminal] Code [eksa] ”, and the third part of Art. 69, which he arbitrarily and distortedly pastes into the same article 119 of Pizzardo says: “calling for non-fulfillment or opposition to the orders of the central or local authorities in the

absence of counter-revolutionary goals is punishable by the punishment under Art. 83 UK ". Thus, in Mr. Pizzardo's presentation, it is omitted from Art. 119 is the most important and characteristic part and part of another article is inserted - 69 and at the same time in a distorted form. Meanwhile, the entire force of these Articles 119 and 69 is directed: the first is against the use of the religious prejudices of the masses with the counter-revolutionary goal of overthrowing Soviet power,[3] * counter-revolutions. And this was the nature of the cases of clergymen and the Orthodox and Catholic confessions considered by the Supreme Tribunal [27] .

And it was necessary to prove that the nature of the case of the Catholic prelates did not fit the meaning of these articles, and the complaints that these articles. Art. can deprive citizens of the opportunity to protest against abuses at all and do not eat, such evidence. Equally erroneous is the reference to Art. 63 W.C. [28] indicated in the indictment [4] * next to Art. 119, since in the reasoned decision of the Court, at the suggestion of the prosecutor himself, this article was left as not related to the merits of the case and subject to legislative amendment (see the resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the 10th convocation of the 2nd session on amendment and supplement to the Criminal Code) [29] .

Meanwhile, Mr. Pizzardo had every opportunity to avoid these gross errors and distortions if he wished to assure the identity of the official documents in the RSFSR Representation under the Italian Government [5] *.

Having pointed out the moral defects of the documents that formed the basis of Mr. Pizzardo's letter, we touch on the essence of the conclusions drawn from them. A curved mirror gives a crooked image.

Acquaintance with the Soviet Legislation on the church question from distorted sources leads to equally distorted, almost fantastic conclusions about the church practice of the Soviet Government.

Completely wrong [6] * concludes Mr. Pizzardo, as if [7] * Art. 119 although mixed into one with Art. 69 W.C. "Deprives citizens of any opportunity to protest against any decree issued by any government and, ultimately, is tantamount to the abolition of religious freedom."

The RSFSR practices wide freedom of criticism and protest against the laws and regulations of the Central or local authorities in the form of the right of appeal, resolutions, discussions in the press, but Soviet Power cannot allow refusal to obey existing laws and decisions of power under the pretext of disagreement or disagreement sympathy for them, at the time of their execution. And Mr. Pizzardo will not indicate a single organizational European state, which, under the threat of complete disorganization, would allow such an anarchist-utopian order.

The material with which Mr. Pizzardo illustrates his stated conclusion is completely untrue or cannot be verified, for example: the authorities issue orders to make worship and rituals connected with religious life impossible [8] * "if you believe the current Russian newspapers," says Mr. Pizzardo. There is no doubt that the source of information for the city of Pizzardo was the Russian newspapers of the émigré press, hostile to the Soviet government, since on the basis of Russian newspapers published in Russia, they discussed [9]* widely anti-religious rallies of youth, Mr. Pizzardo would easily have convinced himself that these rallies were organized by the youth union solely on their own [10] * initiative and not only did the government not take part in them, but the party did not oblige any of the members to this not to organize demonstrations on the Easter holiday, at least for reasons and not of a religious nature.

As for the information about the orders of local and other authorities, reported by the "current Russian newspapers", which Mr. Pizzardo is inclined to believe, it is difficult to verify the reality and significance of these newspapers and facts, but in order to help Mr. Pizzardo avoid hesitation "to believe or not to believe "such information of such [11] * newspapers, we can recommend that Mr. Pizzardo familiarize himself with the legislation of the RSFSR on the church issue on the officially certified legislative great act on the

separation of church from state and school from church, from 23 / 1-18, Instruction to to him [12] * from 24 / VIII-18 with numerous explanations to the leadership of local authorities, published the other day by the publishing house N.K.Yu. in the form of a collection under the title: "Church and State under the legislation of the RSFSR" [30]...

There, among other explanations of the current legislation, there is an instructive circular N.K.Yu. [13] * and НКВД. from 19 / VI-23, § 5 to all gubernial executive committees [31] , which formulates our practice for 5 years on the issue of religious cults as follows: worship and preaching, since they are "an integral part of the worship of this cult, are allowed freely, without any or preliminary censorship, provided that in their content they actually had an exclusively religious character "(Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of 13 / IV-21, [32]).

Further, Mr. Pizzardo is very much afraid that Art. 120 W.C. [33] punishing deception with the aim of inciting superstition among the masses, despite its fairness, can be very dangerous in the hands of the Tribunals, which can bring under this article everything that is "sacred to the Catholic Church and condemn it even for a simple assertion of the existence of God, his providence and for any spiritual philosophy. " And in this fear he is supported by the Tseplyak case and the opinion of politically influential Moscow newspapers, which declare that the church should be viewed "as a society whose goals oppose the normal operation of Soviet institutions."

But these fears of Mr. Pizzardo are clearly unfounded and prove that he is unfamiliar with both our Criminal Code, which regulates the activities of the Tribunals, and their practice concerning the analysis of cases of Orthodox and Catholic clerics, as well as misunderstanding [14]* reasons for the unanimous opinion of our press about the church as a society "whose goals oppose the normal activities of Soviet institutions" and the lack of understanding of the relationship of the communist party with its program and activities towards the government of the USSR and its legislation. After all,

activities in church affairs of the USSR Tribunals are regulated not only by Art. 119 or 120 U.K. but also undoubtedly Art. 125 of the same W.C. which punishes any "obstruction of the performance of religious rituals, since they do not violate public order and are not accompanied by infringements on the rights of citizens" [34] .

This article, introduced in W.C. in development of the main decree of 23 / 1-18, § 5 [35]providing all citizens with freedom of religion, it seems, sufficiently guarantees the citizens of the USSR from the possibility of condemnation and punishment by the Tribunals, "for faith in God, his craft and the Christian religion." But the religious tolerance of the Soviet regime extends even further towards the religious remnants of the dark masses: it provides citizens whose conscience and life practice prohibits them from carrying weapons, to ask the Court to replace service in the military with service in hospitals or other jobs. Similar legislation cannot be found in any code of civilized countries in Europe. And not from the communist views of the party leading the government of the USSR, on religion, as an obsolete remnant of the views of the old generations, follows the view of our press on the church organization, whatever: Christian, Jewish, Muslim,[15] * liberation from this domination of the working people oppressed by him. Our Russian Orthodox Church showed this character especially clearly, stubbornly resisting the liberation of the working people from the shackles of tsarist despotism and the oppression of capitalism within Russia and abroad. The latter should be especially well known to Mr. Pizzardo - which was fully confirmed in numerous trials of churchmen and their personal statements both in the person of the 2nd Church Council of Renovationist groups and the leader of the Old Church groups, Patriarch Tikhon.

And this is that [16] * our conviction and our bitter experience do not allow us to take the point of view of Mr. Pizzardo that the church by its nature has only [17] * "performance of the rituals that lie on the responsibility of man in relation to God, as a creature to the creator and it is completely neutral with respect to the economic system imposed by the government, whether it be [18] * socialist or

communist ["], but requires us very vigilant attention to church organizations and acceptance to our deep regret, the most severe measures against the use of religious flag and religious remnants of the masses in order to combat the efforts of these masses to build, not in heaven, but here on earth, a kingdom of common labor through the joint efforts of all mankind.

But from this fact of the energetic struggle of the working people for their right to organize according to their ideal of a communist labor society "by agitating the press, the law of the Court, teaching, organizing a youth society" - a fact that inspires such great alarm for the religion of Mr. Pizzardo, it would also be inconsistent and superficially conclude about the existence in the USSR of punishments only ["] for faith in God and the Christian religion" and the possibility of freedom of conscience and religion in it in the present and distant future, as from the fact of the existence in the communist program of the demand for the destruction of the capitalist system and its replacement by the communist and efforts made by our leading party in the USSR through agitation, education, law [19]* Court, the organization of collective farms, etc. to achieve this -.. Grossly erroneous to conclude that in the present and in the Soviet Union can not be the existence and operation of the capitalist forms of enterprises [20] * and production.

The new economic policy of the USSR, which opens the way for his private [and] foreign concession capital and the successful outcome of such policies contradict this conclusion, pointing to the impossibility of [21] * peaceful coexistence of these economies, with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Also in the religious issue, the Communist Party, leading the activities of the Government of the USSR, understands very well that without changing the life of the broad masses, it is impossible to change its ideological shell of its world outlook. And this is the path of gradual organization and education, and not the path of coercion and violence, which was resorted to by the reformers utopians of the past.

And so the Soviet Government is taking all [22] * steps to painless eradication of ideologies of the past and ensure the freedom of the people in this regard.

And there is no doubt that the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, with their authority and influence, can provide broad assistance to achieve this goal by the Government of the USSR.

For the Head of the 5th Department N.K.Yu. (Shumov)

- L. 91-93ob. (AND). An uncertified typewritten copy of the time. On l. 91 in the upper left corner the typewritten stamp of the People's Commissariat of Justice of the RSFSR with the date "July 9, 1923" *and outgoing number* "No. 512 *Л*". *Here is also a handwritten note:* " Arch [iv] p [oolit] -b [yuro] ".

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d.160, l. 16-18. (B). A typewritten copy made on July 26, 1923 and certified by Medvedeva, temporarily correcting the post of head of the Secret Department of the NKJ. This is a vacation that has preserved the typewritten date "July 23" *in the upper left corner of l. 16, which was stamped on the first copy of the bookmark. On l. 18th round official seal:* "People's Commissar of Justice and Prosecutor of the Republic". *There is no secrecy formula. The signature formula after the text of the document:* "True to the original: for the Head] 5th Department [elom] NKYU N. Shumov." *Address at the beginning of the document: "*V. NKI.D. " *Handwritten editing of the text of the copy of the APRF was taken into account and submitted by typescript.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Added in* Russia *B.*

[2] * such B.

[3] * *Fixed above handwritten line from originally printed* set

[4] * *Next, the* act is *scored on a typewriter* .

[5] * *Corrected in* Delegation *document* .

[6] * *Fixed in B, in A not* regular.

[7] * *Added* to *B* .

[8] * *Inscribed above the line by hand.*

[9] * discussed *B.*

[10] * *Corrected by B,* in L ce.

[11] * *No B.*

[12] * *Handwritten above the line instead of* what was *originally printed* .

[13] * *Fixed in* HKB doc

[14] * *Added* by *B.*

[15] * *Fixed,* obstructing the *document* .

[16] * *No B.*

[17] * *Added* the aim *B* .

[18] * *Corrected in B, in A* as if.

[19] * *B.*

[20] * *Inscribed above the line by hand.*

[21] * opportunity B.

[22] * *No B.*

[25]These two letters are a response to the inquiry of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G.V. Chicherin regarding the letter of the assistant to the press secretary of the Pope, Prelate Pizzardo, who since 1922 actively communicated with Soviet diplomatic workers (see No. 25-6 and comment. 8 to d. 25). A copy of the letter of Prelate Pizzardo is preserved in the RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d.160, l. 7-10. The letter was sent on June 15, 1923 to the first secretary of the Russian representation in Italy, Y. Strauyan, as a response to the latter's letter dated June 14, 1923. Together with this letter, other documents of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs written

by high officials were preserved in the archives. They, in particular, indicate those specific actions of the party and Soviet authorities that were taken in connection with the requirements of the Roman throne.*Comp.)* In the general political relation of the Vatican line "and the need to resolve" some issues "" for specific purposes. " Under "specific goals" was understood the planned "exchange" of the Catholic Archbishop Y. G. Tseplyak, who was convicted in Soviet Russia, for the "Bavarian Communists", whom, according to G. V. Chicherin, "it will hardly be possible to get them through Berlin" (ibid., l. 6, 11, 12). Thus, for the sake of the goals of the world revolution, a certain part of the top leadership of the RSFSR was ready to give up their anti-religious postulates and even overcome "strong resistance in the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee", passing the decision through the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) (see No. 25-39). See also the minutes of the ARC meeting No. 28 of July 4, 1923 and No. 29, p. 2 of July 10, 1923 (RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 30, 31; f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l.16, 17).

[26] This refers to the trial of the Catholic Archbishop Ya. G. Tseplyak and the clergy subordinate to him in the city of Petrograd. See comm. 12 to d. 25.

[27] Shumov as a whole correctly quotes Art. 119 and Art. 69, h. 3 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR; the only but important mistake is that in both articles, instead of "punishment provided for ..." is followed by "punishment provided for ...". The plural is here related to the fact that Art. 69 (and therefore Article 119 referring to it) provides for different cases and different punishments, up to execution, which destroys Shumov's design. Art. 83, to which he refers when determining the punishment under Art. 69, part 3, provides in its first part with imprisonment "for a term of at least one year with strict isolation"; the second part of this article, which talks about agitation and propaganda carried out during the war or directed "to citizens' failure to fulfill ... military duties and obligations," provides for an increase in punishment up to the highest measure.

However, the materials of the Smolensk and Petrograd trials (see No. P-148, P-156), containing the qualification of the defendants' actions under the articles of the Criminal Code (in the Moscow and Shuya trials it is not yet available), refute Shumov's words that this qualification was either under Art ... 119 in the presence of a counter-revolutionary goal, or under Art. 69, h. 3 in its absence. Not Art. 69, part 3, and art. 69 in general (along with the firing squad, Articles 57-58, 62). Meanwhile, the first two parts of Art. 69 provide for more severe punishments than the third part of it:

“Propaganda and agitation, expressed in a call for the overthrow of the power of the Soviets through violent or treasonable actions or through active or passive opposition to the Workers 'and Peasants' Government, or mass failure to fulfill military or tax obligations imposed on citizens, is punishable -

imprisonment for a term of at least three years with strict isolation.

For the same crimes committed in a military situation or during popular unrest, the punishment is increased to the highest punishment. "

- SU. 1922. No. 15, pp. 211, 214, 220.

It is therefore understandable that the actual use of Art. 69 (as a whole) along with Art. 119 to substantiate the death sentences. Let us recall that Art. 119 provides in cases related to "religious prejudices of the masses", the use in determining the measure of punishment by firing squad. 69 overall.

[28] Art. 63 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR 1922 reads:

“Participation in an organization that opposes, for counter-revolutionary purposes, the normal activities of Soviet institutions or enterprises, or uses them for the same purposes, is punishable -

the same punishments ”(which are provided for in Art. 58, parts 1 and 2).

This last article provided for capital punishment in part 1 with confiscation of property, and under mitigating circumstances -

"imprisonment for a term of at least five years with strict isolation and confiscation of all property", and in part 2 ("if the participant was not informed about specific purposes ") - imprisonment for a term not less than three years.

- SU. 1922. No. 15, pp. 210, 209.

[29] Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the 10th convocation of the 2nd session of 13.04 1923 see: SU. 1923. No. 48. S. 875-896.

[30] Decree of the Council of People's Commissars on the separation of church from state and school from church from 23.01 1918 see: SU. 1918. No. 18. S. 272-273; Church and state under the laws of the RSFSR. A collection of legalizations and orders with explanations of the V department of the NKYu / Ed. P. A. Krasikova. M., 1923.S. 5.

For the instruction of the NCJ on the procedure for enforcing the decree on the separation of church from state and school from church of 24.08.1918, see: SU. 1918. No. 62. S. 757-763.

[31] The text of § 5 of the Instruction of the NKYU and the NKVD on issues related to the implementation of the decree on the separation of church from state, dated June 19, 1923, reads:

"The worship, as well as the preaching of sermons, since they are an integral part of the worship of this cult, are allowed freely without any prior censorship, provided that in their content they actually have an exclusively religious character (Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of June 13, 1921 - magazine Revolution and Church "No. 1-3 of 1922); Also, prayer meetings organized by groups of believers in the premises in their use, regardless of the number of participants, as well as meetings devoted to the maintenance of the temple and the management of religious property (Circular of the NKYu of January 3, 1919 No.) ".

- SU. 1923. No. 72. S. 1280-1284.

[32] Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of 13.06.1921 see: Revolution and Church. 1922. No. 1-3. S. 52-53. This refers to § 6, for its text see comm. 6 to d. 24.

[33] Art. 120 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR 1922 reads:

"Committing fraudulent acts with the aim of inciting superstition among the masses of the population, as well as with the aim of deriving any benefit in this way, is punishable by imprisonment for up to one year or forced labor for the same period."

- SU. 1922. No. 15, p. 220.

[34] Art. 125 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR 1922 reads:

"Obstruction of the performance of religious rites, since they do not violate public order and are not accompanied by encroachments on the rights of citizens, is punishable by forced labor for up to six months."

- SU. 1922. No. 15, p. 221.

[35] The text of § 5 of the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars on the separation of church from state and school from church from 23.01.1918 reads:

“The free performance of religious rites is ensured insofar as they do not violate public order and are not accompanied by encroachments on the rights of citizens of the Soviet Republic.

Local authorities have the right to take all necessary measures to ensure public order and safety in these cases. "

- SU. 1918. No. 18. S. 272-273; Church and State ... p. 5.

Letter from Deputy People's Commissar of Justice NV Krylenko to People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs GV Chicherin regarding the Vatican's protests against the persecution of Christians in the USSR. July 9, 1923

No. 12-46 [25]

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSION FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Comrade CHICHERINA.

Dear Comrade,

Regarding the letter you sent to me, gr. Pizzardo and his comments on certain articles of our Criminal Code and the alleged difficulties for the supporters of the Catholic religion to use the freedom of conscience and freedom of religious propaganda declared in our constitution, I consider it my duty to inform you of the following considerations.

First of all, I would consider it very expedient to indicate gr. Pizzardo, and we ask him to bring this to the attention of other interested persons in this case, that the People's Commissariat of Justice considers that the best way to get acquainted with our laws is to familiarize themselves with them directly from the originals according to the official text of the Collection of Legislation, and there is no doubt that in the case even if those interested in these laws were deprived of such an opportunity due to their ignorance of the Russian language, such an opportunity would nevertheless be provided to them by the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs by providing an official translation duly certified through NKINODEL.

This method would have prevented, in the opinion of the NKJ, a number of misunderstandings, sometimes even of a curious nature, which are taking place now and nevertheless served as the main reason for the very appearance of the letter of gr. Pizzardo.

For NONE of the above gr. Pizzardo quotes from articles of our U. K. DOES NOT MEET THE TEXT OF THE LAW and they all

represent a statement of them "in their own words" or, of course, is worse, DIRECT PERFORMANCE OF THE TEXT, SPIRIT and MEANING of our laws.

It would be extremely advisable, therefore, to put gr. Pizzardo is aware of the following [36] :

I. Art. The 119th U.K. is the first cited by gr. Pizzardo, according to the text of the article quoted by him, allegedly in his § 3 reads:

- "Any incitement to non-compliance with decisions of local and central authorities or resistance to them is punishable by punishment under Art. 83, even if there is no evidence of counter-revolutionary intentions. "

First of all, Art. 119 does not have in its content ANY THIRD or SECOND PARAGRAPH, CONSISTS OF ALL OF ONE PART AND NOT IN ONE WORD WITH THE ABOVE c. PITSTSARDO TEXT has nothing to do, because something goes [1] * quite different, namely:

"The use of religious prejudices for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet government to incite resistance to its [2] * laws and regulations is punishable by punishments under Art. 69. U.K. "

Art. 119 thus punishes not "any excitement" at all, but only the specific tort "use of religious prejudices", and only in cases where it takes place for [3] * clearly counter-revolutionary purposes - overthrowing Soviet power or inciting disobedience and resistance her [2] * laws. Incorrect and absolutely fantastic is, therefore, the conclusion of gr. Pitstsardo, which he does, of not less than fantastic fictional them 119 articles that according to Russian legislation can be [4] * prosecuted any of the parents, at least "otsovetyvayuschy their children to take part in an anti-religious meetings organized at Easter or at Christmas central or local authorities ".

For [5] *, even if it were that the central or local authorities decided to organize such rallies (in fact, this is not the case, and anti-religious rallies are not organized by the authorities), then in this case, in order to bring parents to justice, in the cited column Pizzardo casus

had to prove earlier: a) that this prohibition has the special purpose of “opposing the decisions of the Soviet government”, and not caused by other motives, and b) that it was precisely the “religious prejudices” of children and their immature consciousness that were “used” to counteract ["Political struggle", which, of course, cannot be summed up as the case when the parents themselves share the indicated prejudices and are by no means pursuing the goals of the political struggle.

That this is the case, and not otherwise, is proved, however, by a number of special legislative acts of the Soviet government, with which, unfortunately, gr. Pizzardo did not take the trouble to familiarize himself. According to these acts, the Soviet government not only does not prohibit or restrict the rights of parents to influence in a certain way the child's consciousness that has not yet been strengthened, but in a certain way protects these rights, which even provokes criticism from many "impatient" supporters of more radical methods of fighting darkness and ignorance.

This right is protected primarily by the basic law of 1918 on the separation of church from state, paragraph 9 of which says “citizens can teach and study religion in private” [37] .

This right was then especially confirmed by a number of special explanations, according to which, back in 1920, it was indicated that "the local authorities should protect the calm and free movement of the religious needs of citizens in the loyal form that suits them and prosecute only those who violate the laws of the RSFSR." (Clarification No. 157C [6] * 20).

According to the instructions given in 1922 and the resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of 21, it is specifically indicated [,] that “the preaching of [7] * sermons, since they are an integral part of the worship of this cult, is allowed freely without any prior censorship, provided that in their content, they actually had an exclusively religious character. " (Weekly of Justice No. 25-26 1923) [38] .

And finally, special art. Criminal] Code (Art. 125), which is also silent gr. Pizzardo, directly punishes any "obstruction of the performance of religious rites", including, therefore, from the local authorities, since they (rituals) "do not violate public order and are not accompanied by encroachments on the rights of citizens."

There is only one direct limitation. It concerns the PROHIBITION OF THE TEACHING OF GOD'S LAW [8] * IN SCHOOLS to minors under 18 [9] * years old. However, here, too, the Soviet government prohibits the ["DISTRIBUTING INTERPRETATION OF THIS LAW".

An attempt to introduce such a broad interpretation in the law in the form of an outright prohibition of any GROUP TEACHING OF CHILDREN - REFUSED by the just ended Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The current practice, however, has never at all taken a prohibitive point of view. So, for example, back in January 1922 the Administrative Department of the NKVD [10] * forwarded to all local authorities the decree of the People's Commissariat for Education [11]*, according to which it was proposed to all "Narobrazov to ensure" that the teaching of the so-called Law of God to children under 18, ALLOWED OUTSIDE the walls of educational institutions, did not at all take the form of establishing properly functioning educational institutions led by the clergy, "and further it was proposed to" oblige the Gubnarobrazy "To conduct a survey (and only)" of all the facts of teaching the Law of God to children under 18 years of age, the nature, forms and methods of such teaching and to inform "(again, only to inform)" the People's Commissariat for Education [12] * ["] about them .

The above facts and quotes from the orders of the central authorities are, from our point of view, the best evidence of how groundless the conclusions of gr. Pizzardo about the alleged constraints imposed by our laws [13] * for Catholics or their contradiction with the declaratively declared freedom of religious propaganda.

The circumstance that, apparently, misled gr. Pizzardo, is that in the text of Art. 69, to which Art. 119 and from which only a punitive

sanction is borrowed, there is an indication that punishment is subject to "a call for non-fulfillment or opposition to orders of the central or local authorities in the absence of counter-revolutionary goals [14] *" calls to oppose the orders of the authorities, the reference to 83 [15] * Art. indicates that this appeal must, in addition, include the purpose of causing "riots, armed or unarmed", "organizing gangs" or "evading personal or other duties or payments imposed by the law on citizens" (Articles 74-82 of the Criminal Code] Code [eksa]).

Gr. Pizzardo cannot but agree that for the state in these cases it is a secondary, subject exclusively to the assessment of the Court, the moment - the motives that caused the call for such actions on the part of individuals (a counter-revolutionary goal or its absence) and the very fact of such calls sufficient for criminal prosecution.

II. No less fantastic and based on false information cited gr. Pizzardo text 120 Art. Criminal] Code [eksa], punishing according to gr. Pizzardo "anyone who tries to deceive in order to arouse the superstition of the masses." THIS TEXT DOES NOT EXIST EQUALLY IN OUR [16] * LAW. The corresponding text of the law reads: "Committing fraudulent actions (and not" who is trying to deceive ") in order to incite superstition among the masses, as well as in order to extract any benefits in this way, is punishable .. [17] *"

Gr. Pizzardo, proceeding from a text he had invented, further asserts that such an article is all the more dangerous because the Tribunals, they say, “consider as a deception everything that is sacred to the Catholic conscience, up to the point of considering as such a simple statement of the existence of God [18] * and his gracious intervention for the salvation of the soul, as well as any spiritual philosophy. "

All these obviously incorrect statements of gr. Pizzardo must first of all put a formal law of June 13, 21, where in the footnote of Art. 3 states that for persons over 18 years of age, special theological courses can be arranged with the aim of training clergymen, but subject to the limitation of the program of such [19] * courses to specially theological subjects: and in circular 5 of the NKYU

Department of April 26, 1919 No. , it was specifically explained that "teaching the Law of God to persons who have reached the age of 18 [20]* age, is not prohibited, but, on the contrary, is allowed outside schools and educational institutions ", and this circular resolves in principle the issue of the admissibility of such teaching in churches, if there is no other room. To assert, after that, you are as equal after those quotations from separate circulars and legislative orders that we have cited above that the Tribunals can attract any priest for "any spiritual philosophy" cannot be qualified otherwise than ["] DIRECT DEFINITION AND TEXT , and SPIRIT, AND THE MEANING OF OUR LAW ".

It was extremely important, therefore, to specifically inform gr. Pizzardo, that our law not only does not put on its solution the question of whether the possibility of "gracious intervention of God for the salvation of souls" is real or unreal, but also has little interest in this issue, giving the Catholic Church full opportunity to develop theories about the reality and the results of such intervention before citizens who have reached the age of 18, there will be those who wish to familiarize themselves with the above results, but the law punishes, like deception, any act of the priests, the deceitful nature of which is clear to the deceiver himself and which is nevertheless performed by this priest for the purpose of spreading and extracting any benefit (eg [size] [21]*, the statement about the incorruptibility of relics, or the propaganda of "miraculous healings" or the sale of "miraculous" icons, etc.).

Since gr. Pizzardo believes that the presence of such signs does not take place in the actions of the ministers of the Catholic cult, he can rest assured that religious and ceremonial actions of Catholic priests that do not contain deliberate and malicious deception will not be punished by law [21] *.

III. As for the last 63 Art. W.C. referred to by gr. Pizzardo, then he should point out that although the charge was brought in the Moscow trial under Art. W.C. The court recognized the presence of 62 Art. at the moment, 62 Art. for just adopted its new text on the 2nd Session of the Central Executive Committee treats exclusively

the actions aimed at undermining state industry or transport, that both [22] * is known, has no relation to the area of religious consciousness. As for 62 art. then the latter punishes the organization acting "by stirring up the population to mass unrest, non-payment of taxes and non-fulfillment of duties, or in any other way, to the obvious prejudice of the dictatorship of the Workers [23] * Class and the Proletarian Revolution [23]* ", Which actions cannot remain unpunished, even if they were committed by the ministers of the church. Thus, the last fears of c. The pizzardo must be scattered; explanations of the same Moscow newspapers, allegedly interpreting the church in general as an anti-government organization, and references and quotes from these newspapers gr. Pizzardo also does not cite, even if they did take place for the Court, it does not have any binding force, why the reference to them is not convincing.

IV. As the last proof of how wrong the representations of gr. Pizzardo about what is taking place in Soviet reality and vice versa, proof of how softly and tolerant the Soviet Power is to the availability of religious beliefs among the broad masses can be [24] * the resolution of the Presidium of the Regional Executive Committee of Volga Germans [25] * dated April 25, 23 according to which the Executive Committee allowed the teaching of the Law of God outside the school walls for children under 18 years of age, as such is an integral part of a religious rite, the so-called confirmation, fearing that the prohibition of it "could be interpreted by the population as the resolution of the Executive Committee says - as a persecution of religion."

The present issue is now being considered by the special institutions of the NKYU and NKProsveshcheniye and will apparently be settled on a national scale.

With comradely greetings

No. 512 / L, 9 / VII - 23 N. KRYLENKO

- L. 94-96ob. (AND). A typewritten copy of that time. On l. 94 handwritten litter: " Arch [iv] p [oolit] 6 [yuro] ".

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d.160, l. 13-15ob. (B). A typewritten copy of that time, certified by Medvedeva, temporarily correcting the post of head of the Secret Department of the NKJ. On l. 15ob. round official seal: "People's Commissar of Justice and Prosecutor of the Republic". *Handwritten editing of the text of the copy of the APRF was taken into account and submitted by typescript. Outgoing number and date without year at the beginning of the document.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *No B.*

[2] * her *B.*

[3] * *Added* certain *B.*

[4] * *Added* pier *B.*

[5] * This is not true, for *B.*

[6] * 157 *B.*

[7] * worship by *B.*

[8] * God *B.*

[9] * *Corrected in handwritten line from originally printed* 19.

[10] * NKVNUDELA *B.*

[11] * NKPROSVESHENIYA B.

[12] * Nar [one] Commissariat of Education B.

[13] * embossing B.

[14] * funds BG.

[15] * *Corrected by B and by other references to this article in documents No. 12-42, 12-43, in A* 33.

[16] * *Corrected by B, missing in A.*

[17] * *Ellipsis in the text of the document.*

[18] * god *B.*

[19] * such B.

[20] * 18-year-old *B.*

[21] * *No B.*

[22] * *Added by mistake* not *B.*

[23] * of the working class and the proletarian revolution *B.*

[24] * serve B.

[25] * *Corrected, in the document of the* Volga region.

[36] About Art. 119, 83, 69, 120, 125, 63 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR 1922 see comm. 27, 28, 33, 34 to d. 12.

[37] The text of § 9 of the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars on the separation of church from state and school from church dated January 23, 1918 reads:

"The school is being separated from the church.

The teaching of religious beliefs in all state and public, as well as private educational institutions where general education subjects are taught is not allowed.

Citizens can teach and study religion privately. "

- SU. 1918. No. 18. S. 272-273; Church and State ... p. 5.

[38] Under the "instruction given in 1922" one should understand the Instruction of the NKYu and the NKVD of 19.06 1923, in particular § 5, see comm. 31 to d. 12. Under the "Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of 21" - Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of 13.06 1921, in particular § 6, see comm. 6 to d. 24.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on drawing up a "circular on anti-religious propaganda From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 16, paragraph 46 of July 12, 1923.

No. 12-48

MOST SECRET.

Listened:	Resolved:
46. About the implementation of the resolutions of the Plenum of the Central Committee from 4 / VII-23 on the report of the Politburo and SNK. b) About the circular on anti-religious propaganda [39] .	46.6) Instruct Comrade Popov to draw up a draft Central Committee circular on anti-religious propaganda, coordinating it with the anti-religious commission.

SECRETARY OF THE CC - *L. 98. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on July 13, 1923. Above the text of the extract is the mailing address:* "Comrade. Popov N. N. " *Below is a handwritten note referring to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 25, item 12 of August 16, 1923 (No. 12-55).*

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 347, l. 72. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the letterhead of the Politburo resolutions, the column "They listened" *on a typewriter, the column* "Decided" *by hand, in black and blue ink. The item number in the left column* "46" has been *corrected by hand from the original* "45". *At the bottom right is a record about the mailing:* "Extract to comrade Popov *NN". On the right is the stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number. For the list of those present, see No. 25-39.*

Notes and Comments:

[39] For the mentioned resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee see No. 12-44.

Memorandum of the elders and parishioners of Moscow, Minsk and Kharkov to the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR on the illegal closure of synagogues in various cities of the USSR [Not later than July 20, 1923]

No. 12-49

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

EXECUTIVE NOTE. Heads and parishioners of the Moscow Jewish Synagogue, and the Central Synagogues Minsk and Kharkov.

In recent months, the Moscow Jewish Community began to receive applications and petitions from various cities and towns, covered with numerous signatures with requests to enter with a petition to the central government to open and return synagogues to believers, which were turned into theaters and clubs by the orders of local authorities.

Jewish churches were usually closed by local executive committees and commune departments at the request of small groups of young people, whose caprice sacrificed the religious needs of tens and hundreds of thousands of believers.

And in Moscow, where there is only one synagogue, an attempt was made to get it closed. A group of eight people turned to the Moscow Council with a paper full of slander and insinuations against tens of thousands of believers. [1] *

In view of this, and since the closure of Jewish synagogues became a mass phenomenon, and in many places the central churches were closed, we, the representatives of the capital's Jewish Community, who are geographically close to the central government, consider it timely and necessary to make the following presentation to the Supreme Power of the Republic.

I.

The closure of synagogues in the vast majority of cases means the actual deprivation of the opportunity for many tens and hundreds of thousands of believers to practice their cult. Such a de facto ban on worship is experienced by believers as an open persecution of religion, as a great national calamity ... The Jewish people cannot put up with such persecution of their faith, especially since this persecution comes entirely from the arbitrariness of the local authorities and is in the most decisive contradiction from the Constitution of the RSFSR and its legislation. The Constitution of the RSFSR guarantees all citizens freedom of faith and worship (Art. 13), and the decree on the separation of church from state (Collection] of Legislations] 1918, Art. 263) prohibits the issuance of any local decrees that would restrict or restrict freedom conscience [40]... Therefore, we are unconditionally confident that the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union for the Soviet Socialist Republics - the Supreme Guard of the Constitution of the Laws of the State - will explain to the local Executive Committees that closing synagogues and turning them into places of entertainment is incompatible with the proclaimed constitution of freedom of conscience and worship, and that The need for a small group of citizens for an entertainment club should not be bought at the cost of depriving many thousands of believers of the opportunity to attend the temple for prayer and worship. Moreover, it is always possible to find and adapt other premises for the purposes of the club, while buildings specially built and adapted for synagogues often have historical and historical-archaeological significance.

II.

At the same time, we can cite many examples when the closure of synagogues pursued the goal not so much to obtain premises for the club, as the desire of a small group of non-believers to outrage the religious feelings of many thousands of people for whom the temple and the objects of worship in the temple constitute a shrine. So in Vitebsk, three synagogues were sealed back in 1920 and during two years they were closed and unused for other purposes. Despite the

petitions received from local citizens, covered with numerous signatures, including from many workers and Red Army soldiers, the local Executive Committee did not consider it necessary to pay any attention to these statements ... When the local Workers 'and Peasants' Inspectorate intervened in this matter, which received ten petitions from workers and employees of ten state and private enterprises, and pointed out to the Governmental Executive Committee that his actions were wrong to close the synagogues, then this intervention of the Rab [oche] -Kr [isyansk] Inspectorate had no results either. According to the complaint of the local Jewish Community, the matter reached the People's Commissariat of Yust, who, by telegram signed by Krasikov, a member of the NKYU Collegium, suggested that the Vitebsk Provincial Executive Committee return the synagogue back to believers. But the intervention of the NKYu met the same fate as the intervention of the Rab [oche] -Kr [isyansk] Inspection: no attention was paid to it. A group of young people from the local Evsektsiya, under the cover of the Vitebsk Regional Executive Committee, considered themselves an unlimited master in matters of local Jewish religious life, not tolerating the slightest interference. Vitebsk believing Jews finally turned to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, asking the Supreme Power for protection against persecutions and oppression on faith. After investigating the case, the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, by telegram dated April 15, 1921, signed by a member of the Presidium Smidovich, suggested that the Vitebsk Provincial Executive Committee open sealed and empty synagogues for the upcoming Easter holiday. But the injunction remained unfulfilled and the synagogues were not opened. Then the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in a meeting of May 19, 1921 (Protocol No. 29) decided: to send a representative of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Comrade Nemtsov, to Vitebsk to familiarize himself with the whole case on the spot and submit all the materials together with the conclusion to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee ... of the mission, Comrade Nemtsov made a report on the results of his investigation at a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive

Committee on June 1, 1921 (Minutes No. 34) and spoke in favor of opening synagogues. In the same sense, the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee passed a resolution ... But it remained unfulfilled, like all previous resolutions ... In the meeting dated August 22 [mouth] (Minutes No. 54 / m) on the report of the RCI, the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee again proposed to the Vitebsk Provincial Executive Committee to urgently execute the resolution of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of June 1. But everything remained in vain and fruitless: several young people from the local Evsection turned out to be stronger not only tens of thousands of believers from the local population, but also all the central authorities of the Republic up to and including the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. Vitebsk synagogues remained closed throughout 1921 and 1922, and at the same time they were not used for any other purpose ... When in August 1922 the NKYu in a telegram signed by a member of the Collegium Comrade. Krasikova again suggested that the Vitebsk Governorate Executive Committee return the synagogues to believers, if they were not used for other purposes, then only after to urgently execute the resolution of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of June 1. But everything remained in vain and fruitless: several young people from the local Evsection turned out to be stronger not only tens of thousands of believers from the local population, but also all the central authorities of the Republic up to and including the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. Vitebsk synagogues remained closed throughout 1921 and 1922, and at the same time they were not used for any other purpose ... When in August 1922 the NKYu in a telegram signed by a member of the Collegium Comrade. Krasikova again suggested that the Vitebsk Governorate Executive Committee return the synagogues to believers, if they were not used for other purposes, then only after to urgently execute the resolution of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of June 1. But everything remained in vain and fruitless: several young people from the local Evsection turned out to be stronger not only tens of thousands of believers

from the local population, but also all the central authorities of the Republic, up to and including the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. Vitebsk synagogues remained closed throughout 1921 and 1922, and at the same time they were not used for any other purpose ... Krasikova again suggested that the Vitebsk Governorate Executive Committee return the synagogues to believers, if they were not used for other purposes, then only after several young people from the local Evsection turned out to be stronger not only tens of thousands of believers from the local population, but also all the central authorities of the Republic up to and including the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. Vitebsk synagogues remained closed throughout 1921 and 1922, and at the same time they were not used for any other purpose ... When in August 1922 the NKYu in a telegram signed by a member of the Collegium Comrade. Krasikova again suggested that the Vitebsk Governorate Executive Committee return the synagogues to believers, if they were not used for other purposes, then only after several young people from the local Evsection turned out to be stronger not only tens of thousands of believers from the local population, but also all the central authorities of the Republic up to and including the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. Vitebsk synagogues remained closed throughout 1921 and 1922, and at the same time they were not used for any other purpose ... When in August 1922 the NKYu in a telegram signed by a member of the Collegium Comrade. Krasikova again suggested that the Vitebsk Governorate Executive Committee return the synagogues to believers, if they were not used for other purposes, then only aftertwo or even three repeated telegraphic sentencesto return the synagogues, the Vitebsk Provincial Executive Committee, taking advantage of the opportunity that during this telegraphic correspondence the town of Beshenkovichi was burnt down, hastened to move the fire victims of this town into the synagogues in order to be able to answer Nar.Kom.Just that the synagogues were used. However, only once by the local authorities one of the closed synagogues was opened and used for "cultural" purposes. It was on the evening of October 1, 1922, on the evening

of the greatest Jewish holiday, Yom Kippur. This evening and the following day, Jewish believers spend in fasting and prayer: this is the day of the greatest reverence and reverence for believers. And on that evening, the oldest and most revered synagogue was specially opened and a humorous party with dances and a buffet was arranged there, dedicated to mockery of the Yom Kippur holiday and of religion in general ... This was the only time a closed synagogue was used for "cultural" purposes. Human language does not possess those words and expressions to convey that abyss of indignation that[2] * This mockery of religion caused the entire population of the city of Vitebsk, even non-Jewish and non-believers. It was a pogrom of the soul of the people, the likes of which cannot be found in Jewish history, so rich in different types of pogroms. And this was done with the direct complicity of the local authorities.

We dwelled on this Vitebsk epic in more detail, since the Vitebsk synagogues were the first victims in the campaign against the synagogues, which began with special force in the first months of 1923. Since that time, the closure of synagogues has become epidemic and massive. In addition to the mentioned Vitebsk synagogues, which have not been returned to the believers to this day, the following synagogues were closed this year:

1. Choral synagogue in Minsk, the former central, main and largest temple in Minsk. On Saturdays and holidays, this synagogue accommodated thousands of believers, who now, with the closure of the temple, are deprived of the opportunity to worship. Even before that, namely in September 1922, the so-called Kabakov synagogue (Petropavlovskaya 28) was closed and until now it has not been used for other purposes.

2. The Main Choral Synagogue in Kharkov, which is also the largest and most spacious synagogue in the city. This synagogue, just like the Minsk synagogue, was built with voluntary donations from many thousands of believers and was transferred to a group of believers under an agreement dated July 12, 1922. The selected

synagogue has been closed for several months and has not been used for any other purpose.

3. On April 5, 1923, the Great Choral Synagogue in Poltava was closed.

4. On April 10, 1923, the Kneses Yisroel synagogue in Kremenchuk was closed.

5. On June 15, 1923, the only synagogue in the town of Loyevo, Rechitsa district, Gomel province, was closed. In addition to this synagogue, only two prayer houses remain in the town, which cannot accommodate even a small part of the believers living in Loyev.

6. At the beginning of May 1923 the synagogue was closed in the town of Birzul, Odessa province, Balta district. The construction of this synagogue began in 1914, and every Jew deducted every week from his earnings a feasible contribution to the construction of the synagogue. Only through the heroic exertion of their funds, the Birzul Jews, already during the war, barely completed the construction.

7. In April 1923 the main Choral synagogue and two houses of prayer were closed in Simferopol. The capacity of the three small prayer houses, which remained unclosed, is so insignificant that it became impossible for the Jews of Simferopol to worship. The synagogues have already been closed for three months and have not been used for any purpose.

8. On April 15, 1923 in the city of Gomel, the believers of the synagogue were withdrawn from the possession: Bolshaya Kamennaya, Lyubavichskaya and Staroselskaya. The Great Stone Synagogue was built over 150 years ago and is of artistic value and an object of special veneration for believers. In addition to these three synagogues, five more prayer houses have been closed.

9. In April 1923, the only synagogue in the Vetka district of the Gomel province was closed. and county.

10. On May 21, 1923, the 2nd Prayer House was closed in Novozybkov.

In addition to the named cities, we know about the closure of synagogues in Smolensk, Kiev, Konotop, Odessa, Taganrog, Bobruisk, Rechitsa, Orel, Evpatoria, Alushta, Kerch, Klimov and Semenovka. There is no doubt that the number of closed synagogues is not limited to those listed. There is also no doubt that this massive closure of synagogues is a deliberate, planned and guided from some center campaign against the Jewish religion, since it can hardly be assumed that suddenly and precisely in the spring of 1923 there was a particularly acute need for the formation of workers' clubs, and this is a general movement in favor of workers' clubs could be satisfied everywhere only at the expense of Jewish synagogues and houses of worship.

In some places, the seizure of synagogues was accompanied by mockery of hanging objects that were in the synagogues. In Birzul, the hanging scrolls ("Torahs") were arrested and the local council demanded a ransom for them in the amount necessary to convert the synagogue building into a club. In Simferopol, the Torah scrolls were thrown onto the road [,] they were taken to some basement and have not been returned to the believers to this day.

III.

Anyone familiar with Jewish life is well aware that adherents and admirers of the synagogue are mainly huge masses of the so-called "small people." The artisan and his apprentice, the laborer, the clerk, the small trader - this is where the regular visitors and parishioners of synagogues are recruited. These Jewish masses, living in material need and enduring in the recent past on their shoulders all the oppression of lawlessness, firmly adhere to their ancient religion and the synagogue has been and remains to this day not only a house of prayer, but also a place where it finds oblivion from the severe hardships of life. Therefore, the closure of synagogues is a heavy blow not so much for the upper social strata of the Jewish people, but for a huge number of working people. At the same time,

one cannot fail to point out that it was precisely among these Jewish masses that the Soviet regime was always especially popular. These masses, more than all other strata of the population, have experienced the horrors of counter-revolutionary invasions. The gangs of Petliura, Grigoriev, Tyutyunnik and others marched under the slogan "beat the Jews and communists." The Jewish population of numerous cities and towns of southern and central Russia, when these gangs approached, fled behind the walls of their synagogues, and we can cite many cases when hundreds of Jews with their wives and children met a martyrdom in these synagogues, sending prayers to the sky for the speedy arrival of the Red Army ...

It is quite natural that the Jewish laboring masses, the vast majority of whom are religiously inclined, see in the Soviet power their only Protector, who repeatedly saved them from physical destruction. These feelings, tested with blood and iron, are the best guarantee that those social strata of the Jewish people, among whom the Jewish religion is alive and within the walls of Jewish synagogues, will never appear, and in essence cannot appear, currents and feelings friendly to the counter-revolution. Therefore, if insignificant groups of citizens seeking to close synagogues say that synagogues are counter-revolutionary nests, then they are spreading defamation.

To what has been said it must be added that the historical role of the Jewish religion was politically significantly different from other confessions. The Jewish clergy never constituted a separate, independent organization and never sought to compete with the state (or even become above the state) in the quest for secular power. The Jewish religion was exclusively concerned with matters of worship and matters of beneficence and assistance, and has always been alien to any political aspirations. Therefore, to consider Jewish religious societies grouped around synagogues as politically harmful organizations means to completely ignore the role that the Jewish religion played in the past and plays in modern Jewish life. In essence, the leaders of the domestic policy of the USSR hardly even had doubts about the unconditional loyalty of the Jewish religion

and its pastors in relation to the Soviet regime. The persecution of the Jewish synagogue comes mainly from the so-called] Evsektsii and local Jewish Komsomol groups, which are extremely small in number and very young in age. These groups of young men, being in sharp antagonism with their fathers and working in the living conditions of small cities and towns, actually lead the local religious policy, giving full vent to their half-childish impulses and their feelings of irritation and vindictiveness. And yet, as the serious Soviet press has repeatedly expressed, it is in the field of religious struggle that special caution, delicacy and tact are required. As for the area of direct action, then the leaders of Soviet politics and the Communist Party, in full compliance with the Constitution of the Soviet Republic and its legislation, condemned all acts and actions that included elements of oppression and persecution against religion (see Comrade Zinoviev's speech at the expanded plenum of the Comintern in June 1923) ... There is no doubt that the fight against religion as such can only be carried out by means of spiritual influence, with the help of appropriate propaganda. Not only have we never objected to spiritual measures of struggle, but on the contrary considered the admission of anti-religious propaganda to be one of the necessary manifestations of true freedom of conscience. The maintenance of religion in general and any one dominant religion by the power of the secular state sword, believing Jews consider and continue to consider it sacrilege. But for the same reason, the fight against religion by means of mechanical influence, measures of external police pressure, expressed in the closure of synagogues and the actual prevention of worship, is a violation of the natural and inalienable right of every person to believe in accordance with the dictates of his free conscience. Such violent interference in the sphere of religious beliefs not only never leads to the desired goal, but, on the contrary, led, as the thousand-year experience of the history of the Jews, so rich in bloody persecution of their religion, to diametrically opposite results ... - is a violation of the natural and inalienable right of every person to believe in accordance with the dictates of his free conscience. Such violent interference in the sphere of religious beliefs not only never leads to

the desired goal, but, on the contrary, led, as the thousand-year experience of the history of the Jews, so rich in bloody persecution of their religion, to diametrically opposite results ... - is a violation of the natural and inalienable right of every person to believe in accordance with the dictates of his free conscience. Such violent interference in the sphere of religious beliefs not only never leads to the desired goal, but, on the contrary, led, as the thousand-year experience of the history of the Jews, so rich in bloody persecution of their religion, to diametrically opposite results ...

Therefore, the actions of local councils, which in recent months have embarked on the path of combating religion through the massive closure of synagogues and the actual abolition of worship, are actions not only formally illegal, but also from a political point of view, undoubtedly harmful, running counter to the general principles of the religious policy of the Soviet Union. power and discrediting Soviet power in the eyes of the broad masses of the working population devoted to it.

IV.

All the above considerations give us reason to believe that the Soviet government, which has inscribed freedom of conscience on its banner, will treat our treatment with due attention and benevolence. The Moscow Jewish Community, which occupies a central place, receives many requests from provincial cities to protect synagogues from arbitrary persecution by local authorities.

We are representatives of the Moscow Jewish Community, as well as the Jewish Communities of Minsk and Kharkov, decided to raise our voice in defense of the Jewish faith. We must openly and honestly declare that the conscience of millions of believers is confused, for in the religious communities of the Soviet Federation the ghosts of bygone times have risen, when tsars and emperors, popes and bishops persecuted our ancient faith.

The Jewish people were the first to welcome the Russian Revolution as an era of national liberation and religious tolerance. The Soviet government was the first government that not only inscribed

national equality and religious tolerance on its banner, but actually put these principles into practice. And if the local authorities perverted and trampled on these great principles, it is the duty of the central government to take the most decisive and immediate measures to restore the trampled religious freedom and protect the principles proclaimed by the Constitution of the Soviet Federation.

We therefore ask:

1. Explain to all Provincial and Uyezd Executive Committees that the closure of synagogues contradicts the laws in force and infringes on the freedom of conscience proclaimed by the Constitution.

2. Enter the Presidium of the USSR Central Executive Committee with a proposal to abolish all decisions of local executive committees, which until now have closed numerous synagogues, in particular those mentioned above, and on their immediate opening and return to believers.

<A. St. (?)> <M. S. 3 ... (?)> <D. Shore (?)> <M. Leviticus ... (?)>

- L. 100-104. Typewritten original, signatures - autographs. In the upper left corner of l. 100 pencil resolution LB Kamenev: "Read and report where closed. L. Kamenev] ". *With the same pencil, LB Kamenev crossed out points 1-10 on the left margin in section II, underlined line by line in the next paragraph phrases with the names of settlements where synagogues were closed, and with a statement about the planned nature of such closings. Dated to No. 12-50 (last date in the text of the document June 15, 1923).*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Hereinafter, ellipsis in the text of the document.*

[2] * *Corrected from the originally printed* which.

[40] According to § 65 of Chapter 13 of Section 14 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the RSFSR, adopted by the V All-Russian Congress of Soviets at a meeting on July 10, 1918:

"They do not elect and cannot be elected, even if they belonged to one of the above categories: [...] d) monks and clergymen of churches and religious cults."

- SU. 1918. No. 51. S. 607.

According to § 2 of the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars on the separation of church from state and school from church dated January 23, 1918:

"Within the Republic, it is prohibited to issue any local laws or regulations that would hinder or restrict freedom of conscience, or establish any advantages or privileges based on the religion of citizens."

- SU. 1918. No. 18. S. 272-273; Church and State ... p. 5.

LB Kamenev's note to VM Molotov on the draft circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on anti-religious propaganda [July 20, 1923]

No. 12-50

Comrade MOLOTOV.

In the circular sent out on the closure of churches, prayer houses, synagogues, etc. [41], it is necessary to indicate the advisability of opening synagogues that have already been closed.

L. Kamenev.

- L. 99. Typewritten original, signature - autograph. In the upper left corner there is a handwritten outgoing number with the date "20 / II". *Below is a handwritten note:* "Received from the P [od] / department [did] of the accounting of the document [ation] of the Central Committee in September 1928". *Dated by the date of the outgoing number.*

Notes and Comments:

[41] This refers to document No. 12-53, 12-56.

"Minutes No. 31 of the meeting of the Commission for the separation of church from state" (Anti-religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)). July 21, 1923

No. 12-51

Top secret

STORE CONSPIRATIVE.

ATTENDED: Comrades MENZHINSKY, CHICHERIN, IORDANSKY, TUCHKOV. Order of the day:

1. About Catholics.

Listened	Resolved
1. About Catholics.	1. a) Request Comrade KAMENEVA does he find it timely to liquidate the Pontifical Mission of Aid to Famine in Russia, if not, then it is necessary to shorten the time and revise the areas of activity [42] . b) Extend the registration period for religious communities by two months. The said decree should be urgently passed through the NCJ [43] . c) Urgently draw up a separate instruction for the Catholic cult on the registration of religious communities, take as a basis the basic instruction announced in Izvestia by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee [44] . d) Paragraph 6 of the basic instruction should be replaced with the following formula: "believers can elect clergymen in accordance with their religious rules and the Soviet government does not interfere in this. The Soviet government exercises only the right to challenge or subsequently eliminate clergymen who have been

	compromised by criminal offenses or politically dangerous ["]. e) Acknowledge it necessary that Catholics establish a certain period of catechesis in order to prepare children up to the age of 14 for the congregation. f) Instruct Comrade TUCHKOV urgently find out where and what spiritual educational institutions of Catholics are in Russia.

Pp. FOR THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION (MENZHINSKY)

SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSION (Tuchkov)

- L. 105 - Uncertified typewritten copy made on July 22, 1923

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 36. Typewritten copy made on 23 July 1922; signatures and the formula "under [lingual] signed [signed] For" - the *autograph of EA Tuchkov. With his own hand they have crossed out item 16) and on the left of the litter:* "Write out comrade Krylenko." *His hand in the upper left corner of the litter:* "To business. 23 / VII. E. Tuchkov ".

- Ibid, l. 63. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark. Above is a handwritten note: "Comrade. Yaroslavsky ". *In subparagraph d) the word* "denominations" has been *corrected by hand in the left margin to* read "creed rules".

- Ibid, f. 17, op. 112, d.565a, l. 22. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark; signatures and the formula "Genuine] *signed* [wrote]" - the *autograph of EA Tuchkov. In the upper left corner in red ink from E. Tuchkova's litter:* " To business . The original was sent to Comrade Jordan. E. Tuchkov ". *In subparagraph d), in red ink in his own hand, the word* "confessions" was *corrected in the left margin to* "confessional rules".

Notes and Comments:

With a copy of RTSKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 36 and 63 there is a cover letter sent on September 17, 1923 to “Comrade Yaroslavsky "" for a report on the work of the commission in SCHOLITBURO] "signed by the head of the VI branch of the Secret Department of the GPU E. A. Tuchkov. On the letter the stamp: "Ow [absolutely] Secret." (L. 1).

[42] On the activities of the Pontifical Mission to Aid the Famine in Russia, see: E. Winter, Vatican Policy towards the USSR. 1917-1968. M., 1977.S. 70-71.

[43] See Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the extension of the registration period for religious societies and groups of 01.08.1923.

- News of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. 1923.8 August; SU. 1923. No. 71, p. 1260.

[44] This refers to the Instruction of the NKYU and the NKVD on the procedure for registering religious societies and issuing permits to convene such congresses dated April 15, 1923.

News of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. 1923. April 27; SU. 1923. No. 37. S. 692-694; Revolution and Church. 1923. No. 1-3. S. 116-117.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the approval of the resolution on anti-religious agitation and propaganda. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 19, paragraph 35 of July 27, 1923

No. 12-52 [45]

MOST SECRET.

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
35. Approval of the resolution on anti-religious agitation and propaganda. (resolution] ON No. 20 p. 12 of 13 / VII-23) [46]	35. a) Approve the Resolution; 6) To take note of Comrade Stalin's message, and to allow the return of churches to believers, in the event of a significant part of the parishes initiating appropriate petitions.

SECRETARY OF THE CC STALIN - *L. 106. Uncertified typewritten copy of an extract of that time on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of the first half of the 1920s; typewritten signature.*

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.350, l. 77. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the letterhead of the Politburo resolutions, the column "Heard" *on a typewriter, the column* "Decided" *by hand in black ink. Date of the meeting of the Politburo* "July 27, 1923" *forwarded by hand from the original* "July 26" *(the same on fol. 1* "Order of the day" L *On the bottom right is a record about the mailing:* "Extract to comrades Bubnov, Yaroslavsky, Orgburo." *Here is also a handwritten note in pencil, referring to the Politburo resolution , Minutes No. 25, p. 12 of August 16, 1923 (No. 12-55) On the right is a stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number There is no list of those present in the case.*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.463, l. 91. Typewritten extract of that time on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of the first half of the 1920s; signature - facsimile. Round stamp: "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY BOLSHEVIKS", *in the center with the*

monogram "Central Committee". *Orgburo is underlined in the mailing address.*

Notes and Comments:

[45] See # 12-44, 12-48.

[46] Minutes No. 20 of the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) dated July 13, 1923 contain clause 12 "Resolution of the agitprop section of the Congress on anti-religious agitation and propaganda, (Comrade Molotov)", the decision on which reads:

"12. a) Instruct Comrade Rudzutaku.

b) Submit the resolution for final approval by the Politburo. "

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.463, l. 4.

There is also this decree, drawn up on July 16, 1923 as an extract from Minutes No. 20, clause 12 of the meeting of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of July 13, 1923 (leave) (p. 90).

Draft circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on excesses in anti-religious agitation and practice, proposed by the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) [Not later than July 30, 1923]

No. 12-53

Project .

Circular [1] * letter [1] * of the Central Committee of the RCP No. [2] * on the attitude towards existing religious organizations .

Many times in instructions and resolutions, both on the party and on the Soviet line, comrades were prescribed a particularly attentive, thoughtful and cautious attitude towards matters related to the administration of worship. Despite this, practice shows that in no area of work there is such inconsistency, arbitrariness, frivolity and thoughtlessness, as in this area. The political harm of this attitude is striking.

Vladimirskaya, Oryolskaya, Gomelskaya provinces are especially different in this respect. and many places in Siberia, Ukraine and the Caucasus.

1) It is necessary to arrange the work so that the believers of all cults feel that their cult, no matter how numerically weak, enjoys the same rights in comparison with other cults, as required by the decree on the separation of church and state. In fact, some sects in different places do find themselves in a significantly worse position than organizations such as the Orthodox and Mohammedan churches. This is painfully felt by them, especially if before the revolution these sects were in the position of persecuted or illegal. While organizations that use buildings specially adapted for worship receive them for free use, sectarians are deprived of their prayer rooms, even if they were built with their funds specifically for worship, or are forced to pay for the rent of premises at the highest rates. as for commercial or industrial premises. Religious societies classified as societies that do not pursue the goal of making a profit (see the decree of the Central Executive Committee and the

Council of People's Commissars of 3 / VIII-22) when renting premises should not pay at rates higher than rates for premises used for housing[47] . Their eviction from the premises they occupy [2] * for worship, either their own or rented, must be subject to the same rules as the closure of churches and other buildings specially adapted for worship (see resolution] of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dated 29 / III-23) [48] ... From the same point of view, it is completely unacceptable for the local authorities to close the premises of a church or prayer house for the purpose of using the premises when there is no other premises for this worship in the area (for example, [immer]) the closure of synagogues in Loyev or Vetka Gomel province churches in Oryol and many other cases, especially in the life of Baptists and other sectarians). These cases are undoubtedly a violation of paragraph 2 of the decree on the separation of church from state [49] .

2) According to the existing legal provisions, buildings for the administration of all cults can be closed either: a) if there are no citizens willing to take these buildings on the conditions established by the NKYU-st, or: b) by protocol resolution of the Presidium of the State Electoral Commission, and in this resolution, the closure must be motivated in detail by an urgent need for the state.

Meanwhile, such buildings are still often closed by the decision of the management departments and without any motivation. Members of the religious society are not presented with the decisions of the Presidium of the GIK, which makes them unable to appeal against the decision of the [3] * GIK [3]* to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. Answers to the requests of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee are delayed and during the elapsed time a special device for worship is eliminated. Closed premises are transferred to clubs (mostly for the Komsomol), or adapted for residential and other purposes, when there are non-residential buildings nearby, the repair of which is often cheaper than the reconstruction of a closed church. Often, after the closure of the church by a decree of the Soviet authorities, the building remains unused for an indefinite period of time. All this leads to the

conviction not only of interested believing citizens, but also of objective witnesses that the local authorities of the Soviet Union, by closing religious buildings and premises, are fighting religion. All these actions actually complicate the properly organized anti-religious work and only lead to the strengthening of religious prejudices. These actions undermine the prestige of Soviet power and strengthen the position of its enemies. The closure of religious buildings and premises in accordance with the decisions of the Presidium of the State Electoral Commission should be reduced to the smallest number of cases and in each case should be motivated by the primary need for the state with the publication of the decision in local newspapers. In case of appeal to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the building is not closed until the resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

The church buildings and premises cannot be liquidated along any other line. They cannot be liquidated for non-payment of taxes. For non-payment of taxes, an agreement with this group of believers can be terminated, but it must be proposed immediately through a three-time publication in newspapers and an announcement on the doors of the building (NKJust instruction of 1918, clause 11) to conclude an agreement with another group of believers [50] . The prayer building cannot be liquidated for political reasons: individual citizens from the group of believers and the entire group can be involved for political crimes, which may lead to the termination of the contract, but the building in the manner indicated above is offered by contract to another group of believers.

Meanwhile, for example, the Irkutsk State Electoral Commission with 26 / VI p. For political reasons, with one stroke of the pen, he shut down all Baptist societies throughout the province and closed all their prayer rooms.

Churches and prayer rooms cannot be closed for non-compliance with administrative orders, for example, for non-registration. This took place in many places (for example, Oryol), despite the fact that the registration deadline was delayed until 27 / IX s. d. A prayer room or building cannot be liquidated by voting at a meeting in

which nonbelievers or outsiders of the group of believers who have entered into an agreement on the premises or building participate. Such a vote cannot serve as a basis for a local government order to close a church or meetinghouse. A hundred unbelievers or citizens of another cult cannot close a church taken by agreement by a group of believers and thus deprive them of the opportunity to conduct worship. So it was at the Klyuchinsky glass factory in Tver province, so it was at the factory "Communist avant-garde" (b. Sobinka) Vladimirskaya lips. and the county, where it came to a clash of believing workers with communists and Komsomol members, so it was in[2] * in many cases [2] * by railways and in other places (even [2] * in Moscow [2] *).

In each province and region, the Presidium of the State Electoral Commission is obliged to revise, by the I / X this year, in accordance with the above, the grounds [4] * for the previously performed [5] * each case [5] * closure of prayer buildings and premises and [2] * all decisions on their closure [2] * ... All previously unused buildings and premises must be reopened without fail.

3) By virtue of the decree on the separation of the church from the state, the NCJ has repeatedly clarified that the collection of rent from buildings specially adapted for liturgical purposes or from the land under them cannot take place. Meanwhile, local authorities stubbornly circumvent this provision by assigning special, arbitrarily high tax rates for church buildings and for the land under them (tax on buildings, land and insurance rates).

We must understand and remember once and for all that with the separation of the church from the state, no special income for the state can be obtained from worship.

When distributing local taxes on buildings and land in cities, special rates cannot be set for church buildings and the land under them (as did the Yaroslavl State Electoral Commission and many others). In volosts, where there are still no taxes on buildings and estates, there is no place for taxation of church buildings and the land under them, and this taxation should be abolished (in some

provinces this taxation reached 1 ruble of gold per square [adratny] sazhen).

For the state, religious societies are private societies that do not pursue the goal of material profit, and the buildings and land they use can be taxed in the manner prescribed for private residential premises and for land under private residential estates adjacent to them. Extraction of special income from worship, in whatever form [6] * occurs [6]*, there must be an end. The Mtsensk PEC (Oryol Gubernia) went so far as to announce in the most rude form, through the head of the management department, to the assembled representatives of church councils about levying each church from 100 to 500 rubles. gold as a penalty for non-registration. (Its term is 27 / IX this year!). The request to present any document as the basis for the recovery was followed by a threat of arrest and arrest. Failure to pay taxes on prayer buildings cannot be held personally liable to members of a group of believers or to their property.

Where special attention, thoughtfulness, and caution are required, local comrades are capable of reaching cynicism in this area. The political [7] * harm from the [7] * above violations cannot be overstated . The comrades who admit them must be removed from responsible work.

The content of this instruction must be taken into account and strictly followed. Violation of it will entail liability in the courts and parties.

- L. 108-112. Typewritten original. On l. 112 under the text of the entry document: 1) "P. Smidovich. 30 / VII-23g. "; *2)* "On the personal responsibility of the secretaries of the provincial committees." *On l. 108-109 at the end of the second paragraph to the left of the underlined text* "when hiring ... not available" with *the same ink on the left margin:* "Strictly comply." *On l. 110 on the left margin opposite the sentences* "The churches cannot be closed ..." *and* "The prayer room cannot be liquidated ..." *pencil marks: "1)" and "2)"; part of the text of these proposals is underlined with the same pencil. On l. 111 on the left*

margin opposite the paragraph "It is necessary once and for all ... they cannot" in *pencil:* "NB". *Dated by the date of the first entry.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Fixed above the line in handwritten ink instead of the originally printed* instruction.

[2] * *Inscribed above the line in handwritten ink.*

[3] * *Inscribed above the line in handwritten ink instead of strikethrough* them.

[4] * *Corrected in-line handwritten ink from originally printed* base.

[5] * *Inscribed in the left margin in handwritten ink.*

[6] * *Fixed inline handwritten ink instead of originally typed* did not occur.

[7] * *Inscribed above the line in handwritten ink instead of the original printed* counter-revolutionary.

[47] This refers to the Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars on the procedure for approving and registering societies and unions that do not pursue the goal of making a profit, and the procedure for supervising them dated 03.08 1922.

News of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. 1922.12 August; SU. 1922. No. 49, p. 787.

[48] Perhaps this refers to the Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the violation of agreements with groups of believers on the use of church buildings and the closure of churches of March 23, 1923.

- Church and State ... S. 74-75.

[49] The text of § 2 of the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars on the separation of church from state and school from church from 23.01.1918 see: comm. 40 to d.12.

[50] The text of § 11 of the NCJ Instruction on the procedure for enforcing the decree on the separation of church from state and school from church from 24.08.1918 reads:

"In case there are no people willing to take the liturgical property under the aforementioned conditions, the local Council of Workers and Peasants' Deputies publishes about this three times in local newspapers and hangs a corresponding notice on the doors of prayer buildings (temples)."

- SU. 1918. No. 62. S. 757-763.

Note by P.G.Smidovich, member of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), to JV Stalin on the draft circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). July 30, 1923

No. 12-54

Comrade Stalin - personally.

I indicate to the transmitted draft instruction [51] :

1) that all examples and facts refer to the last time

and

2) that the project was agreed in general with the anti-religious commission of the Central Committee, and in special units with the V branch of the NKYu (deputy) and with the tax department of the NKF (Levin).

30 / VII P. Smidovich.

- L. 107. Handwritten original, autograph.

Notes and Comments:

[51] "Draft instructions" - see No. 12-53.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the adoption of the circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 25, item 12 of August 16, 1923

No. 12-55

Listened:	Resolved:
12. Circular on the closure of churches [52] , (Comrade Stalin).	12. Accept, (see appendix.)

- L. 113. Typewritten copy of an extract of that time, made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Before the text of the extract is printed: " Help ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.356, l. 25. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the letterhead of the Politburo resolutions, the column "Heard" *on a typewriter, the column* "Decided" *by hand in black ink. In the column of the* "Materials" *form there is an entry:* "Circular letter to party organizations." *At the bottom right is a record about the mailing:* "To print a printing press [afskim] por [yadkom] (GPU) and send it in a strictly secret order to all organizations." *On the right is the stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number. There is no list of those present in the case.*

Notes and Comments:

[52] See # 12-44, 12-48, 12-52, 12-53, 12-56.

Circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) No. 30 "on the attitude towards religious organizations." August 16, 1923

No. 12-56

Strictly - Secret Copy [copy] No.

TO ALL GUBKOMS, OBKOMS, KRAYEVS TO [OMIT] THERE, NATS [IONAL] CC and BURO CC.

CIRCULAR LETTER of the Central Committee of the RCP No. 30

(About the attitude towards religious organizations).

The Central Committee invites all party organizations to pay the most serious attention to a number of serious violations committed by some organizations in the field of anti-religious propaganda and, in general, in the field of attitudes towards believers and their cults.

The party program says: "It is necessary to carefully avoid any insult to the feelings of believers, leading only to the consolidation of religious fanaticism." The resolution of the XII-th 1 * Party Congress on anti-religious agitation and propaganda confirms that “deliberately rude methods, often practiced in the center and in the localities, mockery of objects of faith and worship, instead of serious analysis and explanation, do not accelerate, but complicate the liberation of the working masses from religious prejudices. "

Meanwhile, some of our local organizations are systematically violating these clear and definite directives of the Party program and the Party Congress.

The Irkutsk Provincial Executive Committee stopped with one stroke of the pen from 26. VI p. d. the existence of all Baptist communities throughout the province and closed their houses of worship for "political reasons." The Oryol Provincial Executive Committee closed churches and prayer rooms throughout the province for failure to comply with administrative orders, for non-registration, despite the fact that the registration period was 2 * delayed 2 *. On Klyuchinskaya glassworks Tver province and a factory "of the communist vanguard" (6 Sobinka) Vladimir gu6ernii

3 * vote at general meetings ruled churches closing, prayer rooms and these solutions were the 4* the basis for the local authorities to close churches, and in the latter cases it came to an armed clash between believing workers with communists and Komsomol members. The Mtsensk executive committee (Oryol province) rudely announced to representatives of church councils the taxation of each church from 100 to 500 rubles. gold, as a fine for non-registration, and the request for the presentation of the basis of recovery was followed by the threat of arrest, and after 5 * this 5* and arrest. Throughout Transcaucasia, especially in Georgia, dozens of churches are being closed completely illegally, in violation of the party's directives, causing ferment and discontent among the population. In Minsk (Belarus), Kharkiv (Ukraine), Poltava (Ukraine), Kremenchug (Ukraine), Loev (Rechitsa district, Gomel province), Birzula (Odessa province.Ukraine), Simferopol (Crimea) and many other cities in the south and the south-west of the USSR, Jewish prayer houses were closed by local authorities. Etc., etc.

These and numerous similar examples with sufficient vividness testify to how carelessly, not seriously, and lightly some local organizations of the Party and local authorities treat such an important issue as the issue of freedom of religious belief. These organizations and government bodies, apparently, do not understand that by their rude, tactless actions against believers who represent the vast majority of the population, they inflict incalculable harm to the Soviet regime, threaten to frustrate the Party's achievements in the field of church corruption, and risk playing into the hands of counter-revolution.

Based on the foregoing, the Central Committee decides:

1) prohibit the closure of churches, prayer rooms and synagogues on grounds of failure to comply with administrative registration orders, and where such closure has taken place, cancel it immediately;

2) prohibit the liquidation of prayer rooms, buildings, etc. by voting at meetings with the participation of non-believers or outsiders to

the group of believers that entered into a contract for a premise or building;

3) prohibit the liquidation of prayer rooms, buildings, etc. for non-payment of taxes, since such liquidation was not admitted in strict accordance with the instruction of the NKYu 1918, item 11 53 ;

4) prohibit arrests of a “religious nature”, since they are not connected with clearly counter-revolutionary acts of “church ministers” and believers;

5) when leasing premises to religious societies and determining rates, strictly observe the resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dated 29 / III-23, 54 ;

6) explain to the party members that our success in disintegrating the church and eradicating religious prejudices does not depend on persecution of believers - persecution only strengthens religious prejudices - but on a tactful attitude towards believers with patient and thoughtful criticism of religious prejudices, with serious historical coverage 6 * ideas of God, cult and religion and 1 * pr. 1 *;

7) personally assign the secretaries of provincial committees, regional committees, regional bureaus, national Central Committees and regional committees personally for the implementation of this directive .

At the same time, the Central Committee warns that such an attitude towards the church and believers should not, however, in any way weaken the vigilance of our organizations in the sense of careful observation that the church and religious societies do not turn religion into a weapon of counter-revolution.

Secretary of the Central Committee I. 5 * Stalin.

16 / VIII 23 y.

- L. 117-119. A typewritten copy of that time. On l. 117 in the upper left corner is a handwritten label: " (From the set) ". The secrecy formula, stamp "Copy [copy] No.", letter number, date after the signature formula are written in ink by hand. With the same ink in

the document crossed out at the beginning of " PROJECT ". and at the end - "CORRECT: KURYNDINA".

- L. 120 — rev. A printed sheet of the time, made for local distribution. Handwritten editing of copy l. 117-119 included. The number “31” is stamped in the “Copy [copy] No.” stamp . The letter number number "30" is also stamped. Attached to document No. 12-55.

- L. 114-116. A later certified typewritten copy. Handwritten editing of copy l. 117-119 taken into account and submitted by typewriting. In the stamp " EKZ [EMPLYAR1 No. " the typewritten number "53" is crossed out by hand. Above L. 114 handwritten note on the document's belonging to the proceedings of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 25, item 16 of August 16, 1923 (No. 12-55).

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.356, l. 30-32. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original of the original document; signature, date, secrecy formula, stamp "copy] No.", letter number "30" are missing. The handwritten text revision is fully included in copy l. 117–119 and transferred in typescript. On l. 30 in the upper left corner by the hand of the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) A. M. Nazaretyan of the litter: “ Today : 1. Reprint. 2. Distribute to PB members and collect votes. A. Shazaretyan]. 14 / VIII ". In this note, all the text, except for the first word and date, is crossed out (or underlined?) In pencil. With the same pencil on the right, other notes by AM Nazaretyan: 1) “To the PB case . A. N [azaretyan] "; 2)" Project ".

- Ibid, l. 27-29. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark as L. 117-119. The handwritten text editing was repeated. The letter number is not entered. At the end of the document there is no "CORRECT: KURYNDINA". The signature formula is handwritten, the surname is inscribed in pencil by the hand of A. Nazaretyan, Assistant Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b).

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a note on the letterhead of the MK RCP (b), sent on September 8, 1923, signed by the head of the Secretariat of the MK RCP (b) D. Ivanov (?) “TO THE POLITBURO of the Central Committee” with a request “to inform you whether you have revised the decision of the Politburo of 10 / V in the part concerning the introduction of our representative to the Church Commission under the Central Committee. By the resolution of the Bureau from 24 / V-23, prot [okol] No. 7 MK was proposed to the commission instead of Comrade Zhakov, comrade. Kastelovskaya ". The note is stamped "URGENT". Stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with the date "8 / 9-23" and the incoming number. (L. 121).

1 * Inscribed on a line in ink by hand.

2 * Corrected by ink by hand from the originally printed was deferred until 27.IX.-p. g.

3 * Further crossed out in ink by hand originally printed and counted.

4 * written in ink on the hands in the line of the original printed served and again over the line.

5 * Inscribed above the line in handwritten ink.

6 * Inscribed above line in handwritten ink instead of strikethrough explanation.

53 See comm. 50 to d. 12.

54 See comm. 48 to d. 12.

Memorandum of the secretary of the Central Committee of the CP (b) U D. Z. Lebed to the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a refusal to open a choral synagogue in Kharkov. September 11, 1923

No. 12-57

In the secretary [ethnic] P.K. R.K.P.

In Kharkov, a choral synagogue was closed two months ago by order of Jewish workers. Now the Jewish bourgeoisie is raising the question of returning. Ts.K. K.P.6.U. checked the mood among the workers and remains with the previous decision, as reported by the Central Committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan. in case the decision is challenged.

D. Swan

11 / IX.

- L. 123- Handwritten original on the form of a memo of the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) U, autograph. In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: "for information".

Notes and Comments:

The file contains a cover letter on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), sent on September 15, 1923, signed by the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on behalf of comrade Rudzutak" "for information" "TO MEMBERS AND CANDIDATES OF THE POLITBURO and ORGBURO: ... Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kalinin, Kamenev, Lenin, Molotov, Rudzutak, Rykov, Stalin, Tomsky, Trotsky, Andreev and Dzerzhinsky. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CTC: Comrades. Kuibyshev, Shvernik, Shkiryatov and Yaroslavsky. DEPUTY STO t. Tsyurupe ". On the letter the stamp: " MOST SECRET ". (L. 122).

"Brief information report of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b)" to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the work done [Between September 15 and 25, 1923]

No. 12-58

Top secret.

Members and candidates of the Central Committee. CCC [1] *

BRIEF INFORMATION REPORT of the anti-religious commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b.)

from May 1 to September 15, 1923.

Anti-religious propaganda.

The 12th Party Congress recognized the need to keep some excessive zeal in the anti-religious propaganda individual party organizations [55] . However, before the directives of the 12th Congress reached the localities, in a number of places there was an unrelenting campaign to close churches and turn them into schools, clubs, theaters, etc.

Due to the fact that the closure of churches (churches, synagogues, prayer houses) took place in many places without deep scientific anti-religious propaganda carried out beforehand among the uncultured and unconditionally believing population, in view of the fact that the closure of churches, synagogues and other prayer rooms was very often based only on decrees minority of the population of a given area of non-believers, the anti-religious commission of the Central Committee has developed a number of instructions for the places in order to introduce a more attentive, more cautious attitude to this issue. The Central Committee has twice issued circular orders regarding a more cautious line on this issue. The anti-religious commission in some cases (Vladimir province) was forced to send comrades to the localities to familiarize themselves with the situation. Currently, there is a healthier attitude

of organizations to this issue. Some party committees (for example, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine) issued, in turn, the corresponding circulars, and the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia even a special decree on punishment for insulting the religious feelings of believers (which is already some excess on the other hand). The Anti-Religious Commission believes that party organizations are still paying insufficient attention to this on the ground and that the closure of churches is still taking place without sufficient prudence. Meanwhile, facts of this kind provide inexhaustible material for White Guard agitation abroad. and the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia even has a special decree on punishment for insulting the religious feelings of believers (which is already a certain excess on the other hand). The Anti-Religious Commission believes that party organizations are still paying insufficient attention to this on the ground and that the closure of churches is still taking place without sufficient prudence. Meanwhile, facts of this kind provide inexhaustible material for White Guard agitation abroad. and the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia even has a special decree on punishment for insulting the religious feelings of believers (which is already a certain excess on the other hand). The Anti-Religious Commission believes that party organizations are still paying insufficient attention to this on the ground and that the closure of churches is still taking place without sufficient prudence. Meanwhile, facts of this kind provide inexhaustible material for White Guard agitation abroad.

In the recent period, the Anti-Religious Commission has been faced with the question of allowing the creation of a non-party public organization of atheists, which sets itself the task of anti-religious propaganda. Communists also participate in this society, and the society proposes to take the entire publishing house of the Atheist under the party leadership and censor all publications of this society. One of the tasks of this society is to create an anti-religious theater. The Anti-Religious Commission believes that, subject to careful observation by the RCP, the creation of non-party anti-religious circles of atheist atheists presents certain benefits.

During this time, the main attention of the anti-religious commission was drawn to the processes of decay taking place in various church groups and organizations on the one hand, and the reformation movement on the other. During this time, extremely great changes took place in the Orthodox Church. On April 29, a council of the Orthodox Church was convened, prepared mainly by the Renovationists [56]... The council was attended by about 500 people, with 60 bishops, of whom almost half were of the old Tikhonov consecration. This council united the largely renovationist clergy, created an organization in the person of the highest church government, and made a series of seemingly innocent reforms, while at the same time deeply affecting the moldy dogmas of the Orthodox Church (about relics, about the marriage of the episcopate, about a new style) ... The Council passed under the sign of the recognition of the Soviet power by the people's power, recognition of the beneficence of the foundations of the October Revolution and passed a resolution on depriving Patriarch Tikhon of his patriarchal dignity and excommunicating him from the Orthodox Church. This resolution, adopted almost unanimously, was communicated by a special delegation to Tikhon, who was at that time under arrest in the Donskoy Monastery. Tikhon refused to acknowledge this decision, stating[57] .

At the same time, Tikhon expressed his intention to publicly declare that he repents of his crimes before the Soviet regime, recognizes his previous behavior as deeply erroneous, criminal, dissociates himself from all White Guard organizations and, not recognizing the decision of the church council, at the same time considers it correct transition to a new style and new spelling. In view of this statement, the Supreme Court found it possible to release Tikhon from custody. The release of Tikhon at the first moment caused confusion in the ranks of the Renovationists. The popularity of Tikhon among the masses, especially in Moscow, is undoubtedly much greater than the popularity of the Renovationists. Tikhon and his adherents believed that as soon as Tikhon found himself free, "only a wet place would remain of the renovationist organization" (Tikhon's expression). They did not take into account the significance of the

already created renovation organization. The first days and the first successes of Tikhon after his release seemed to confirm this assessment. Crowds of people met Tikhon everywhere; but this was a temporary success. The Renovationists felt the danger, as they began to be expelled from the churches and parishes that were engaged in Tikhonovites sometimes literally in battle. In many places in Petrograd and in Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and other places in the churches, uniform slaughter took place between Tikhon's supporters and the Renovationists. For example, in Petrograd, during a church service, when the Renovationist priest began to read the gospel, the women in front pounced on him, tore the gospel, broke the lids and drove the priest into the altar, while breaking the doors at the altar. The Renovationist Church, located 250 steps away, having learned about this scandal and that the Tikhonovites were beating up the Renovationist priest, they sent reinforcements from 60 people. When this reinforcement arrived, a uniform fight broke out, as a result several people were beaten and mutilated. The police that arrived, entering the church, did not take any measures, left the church and looked to see if there was any scandal on the street and, seeing that everything was calm on the street, left. Leaving the church, the opponents kept themselves calm, as they were afraid, according to them, to disrupt the public silence and order (and in the church - at home - it is possible). that everything is calm on the street, she left. Leaving the church, the opponents kept themselves calm, as they were afraid, according to them, to disrupt public peace and order (and in the church - at home - it is possible). that everything is calm on the street, she left. Leaving the church, the opponents kept themselves calm, as they were afraid, according to them, to disrupt public peace and order (and in the church - at home - it is possible).

The second case was in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, where during the all-night vigil the electricity went out and the bishop was pulled out of the church in the dark, and the bishop's supporters, in turn, attacked the brawlers, and as a result a fight broke out in the church.

At times, fights even moved into the altar, with the destruction of like heretical renovationist gospels, icons, and other objects of worship.

This forced various trends of the Renovationists (ZhTs, SODATS, Renaissance, etc.) to unite and form a single Renovationist group called the United Orthodox Renovationist Russian Church. The VTsU was transformed into the Holy Synod, which led a united front against the Tikhonites. At the same time, the Renovationists did a lot to expose the counter-revolutionary essence of the Tikhonists, and incidentally the entire Orthodox Church in general, both in the brochures published by them (for example, Archpriest Vvedensky "Church and Revolution"), and in appeals directed against Tikhon , disputes and lectures. The response message from Tikhon, who was forced at the same time, attacking the Renovationists, to distance himself from the right counter-revolutionary elements, going over from time to time on the offensive against the counter-revolution, brought no less confusion into the ranks of the believers.**significant disintegration of the believing Orthodox masses, falling away and leaving the church**partly to sectarian [t] organizations, partly to the atheists, and to a large part remained generally outside of any church or other group, so to speak, at a crossroads. It is extremely difficult to take into account these groups specifically. While Tikhon and the Tikhonists are forced to make various concessions and steps to the left more and more often in the fight against the Tikhonists, the Renovationists, in the fight against the Tikhonists and in order to accuse some of the Tikhonists, had to take a number of steps during this time, which are formally steps to the right. The very name of the Holy Synod is very reminiscent of the Most Holy Synod of the past, over which they so mocked at the council. Tikhon, however, had to create his own VTsU in the process of this struggle, inviting several bishops and leaders of the former Tikhonov church to help him. The Holy Synod came out against the Tikhonites in a united front and showed that the Renovationists already had a sufficiently serious organization that neither Tikhon nor the Tikhonists could easily disintegrate it. On the other hand, the constant clashes, sometimes

with bloodshed, between representatives of these church groups and believers are increasingly convincing the Tikhonites that it is necessary to find some kind of line of reconciliation with the Renovationists. Tikhon himself thinks very little about this, but among the adherents around Tikhon, this idea has matured completely. that it is necessary to find some line of reconciliation with the Renovationists. Tikhon himself thinks very little about this, but among the adherents around Tikhon, this idea has matured completely. that it is necessary to find some line of reconciliation with the Renovationists. Tikhon himself thinks very little about this, but among the adherents around Tikhon, this idea has matured completely.

On the initiative of the Tikhonites, a secret conference was held with the participation of three Tikhonov bishops and two renovationists. It was decided that Tikhon needed to renounce and withdraw himself, and then unification would be possible. Tikhon was informed about this decision. He stated that he did not intend to renounce the patriarchal title at all, that if his adherents did not want to work with him, then let them go to the renovationists, and he would live without them, since the people loved him, would support him and provide him with security.

Tikhon's adherents are aware that Tikhon's further stubbornness may lead them to even more serious clashes, and not only with the Renovationists, but, perhaps, with the Soviet regime, as they are afraid that "this old man is capable of anything." They seek to influence Tikhon in the sense that Tikhon himself introduced a number of innovations and expelled from himself all kinds of politically suspicious persons, from the point of view of the Soviet regime, persons, they consider it necessary, despite the stubborn resistance that this reform meets in the peasant lower classes. , to introduce a new style on October 1, 23, to dissolve and re-elect all parish councils, motivating this measure by the fact that they are hidden Black Hundred organizations (which is largely true), also to introduce second marriage of the clergy. The Tikhonites intend to carry out this measure on behalf of Tikhon himself, and for this

purpose they are seeking permission to publish a church magazine. Renovationists are striving to strengthen their influence not only in Soviet Russia, but also abroad. They are strenuously seeking recognition of the importance of the Eastern Patriarch, and are also seeking to subjugate the organization of the Orthodox Church abroad. At present, attempts are being made to reconcile the Tikhonites with the Renovationists by the American Senator King. In a conversation with Heckert (a former American priest, professor of theology), King pointed out that he was most confused by the situation of the Orthodox Church in Russia, torn apart by strife; he is afraid that this struggle of various ecclesiastical movements might spread abroad and even overseas. Therefore, he considers it necessary to take all measures to reconcile the two warring camps.

The release of Tikhon made a stunning impression on all believers, especially on the right-wing elements. They fear, after his repentance and orders to pray for the Soviet regime, lest this old man go even further; rumors spread that Tikhon had gone mad, then they began to talk that Tikhon had sold himself to the Bolsheviks, at one time the White Guard newspapers stubbornly argued that Tikhon did not write anything and that everything was done by the Bolsheviks. But when the real position of Tikhon became clear, the most right-wing elements of the church and believers began to depart from him and formed (not fully formed) a right-wing trend headed by one of the prominent Moscow bishops [58] . They do not recognize either Tikhon or the Synod, they have a negative attitude towards all of Tikhon's activities. In this way**any deviations of Tikhon towards reforms presuppose the identification of the most right-wing, politically active elements of the church organization.** This group is still small, but undoubtedly capable of gathering around itself all those dissatisfied with Tikhon's "left" policy. In any case, Tikhon currently enjoys a much lesser degree of influence than he enjoyed not only while in prison, but also at first after leaving custody. Tikhon is already receiving anonymous letters from believers, in which he is threatened with death if he becomes the Soviet patriarch. During a

lecture by the Renovationist Metropolitan Seraphim [59] one of the prominent laymen made a statement: “We love and respect Tikhon for the fact that he did not change anything in the church and left the Church in its former form, but if Tikhon will introduce innovations into the church, then we, despite respect and love we will all turn our backs on him. "

Recently, more and more often, representatives of the Orthodox clergy have resigned from their holy orders, many of them express a desire to enter the Soviet service, and some of them even express a desire to engage in anti-religious propaganda. The anti-religious commission notes that these exits of the clergy from the church are used very little by our party press.

Sectarians.

Old Believers. The movement that began in the Orthodox Church could not but affect other church organizations in the USSR. True, the attention of the anti-religious commission was focused mainly on the processes taking place in the largest organization, the Orthodox. In August, the All-Russian Old Believer Archbishop Meletius (the old popular Old Believer Bishop), with his two assistants, issued an appeal, where he definitely condemns those Old Believers who left Soviet Russia and fled abroad, and also condemns the actions of Tikhon himself, who was exclusively engaged in all his church patriarchal activities. counter-revolutionary deeds. In the same appeal, he writes that only the Soviet government implements the ideas commanded by their teacher, Christ, and that only it is able to satisfy the needs of the working people. Furthermore, Old Believers and co-religionists (the first Old Believers of the Austrian beginning), who are closer to the modern church, intend and are already carrying out the formation of their renovation center in Moscow, the Church Higher Unified Belief Administration, and take the point of view of condemning all those who directly or indirectly harmed the Soviet regime and until now they have not repented before her. They stated that this organization adheres to the political line of behavior of the renovationists and has a completely negative attitude towards

Tikhon and his activities. At the head of this organization is a former, very popular among fellow believers. Archpriest Bystrov, head of the Petrograd ski factory, who very much asks the Soviet government to provide him with one of the ancient monasteries in Moscow to start his activities,

Evangelists. Among the sects, it is necessary to note the sect of Baptists and Evangelical Christians, which occupies us the most and the largest in their numbers and organization, the center of which is: the first in Moscow, the second in Petrograd.

These sects, especially the first, as having excellent connections with abroad, in particular with England and America, and receiving from there (through the "Ara" and in other ways) a lot of food, literature and other types of assistance, have had tremendous success in Russia lately. and therefore increased significantly. The most tempting was the fact that the sectarians used the decree on exemption from military service on religious grounds and thereby attracted into their sect all kinds of elements alien to Soviet power. Until recently, the sectarians in Russia were definitely on the anti-militaristic point of view and did not go to military service. After in August, the most prominent members of the Union of Evangelical Christians, led by Prokhanov, their leader, published an appeal calling on the sectarians for military service, this appeal stirred up the entire sectarian mass; she read this appeal with incredible malice and treated it with indignation. In order to put this appeal into practice, the Evangelical Christians, in particular, those who signed this appeal, convened an All-Russian Congress in Petrograd in September of this year, where the question of military service was also discussed. The delegates who came to this congress were initially overwhelmingly opposed to military service and against the appeal. Some delegates even demanded, even before the opening of the congress, that those persons who had signed this message be removed from the congress. But since the message was signed by all the authorities and even by their leader Prokhanov, they put it up for discussion in order to find out what guided them, signing this appeal, and proved that it contradicts all their beliefs

and the gospel itself. But, due to the fact that this issue was prepared before the congress by the leaders among the old members of the so-called plenum of the council, which undoubtedly has tremendous authority among the members of the congress, after a very long and heated discussion the issue passed and a resolution was passed: to recognize military service as compulsory for all members of the union of evangelical Christians. Many delegates to the congress demanded the annulment of this message, arguing that Satan had infiltrated the souls of the signers, who wants to destroy the activities of the evangelists, disturb their peace and do satanic deeds. But, due to the above reasons, the congress adopted by a majority of 201 against 20, with 37 abstaining from this resolution. It is not without the possibility that after this congress, a split will follow among the Evangelical Christians,

Baptists. The adoption of such a decision by the evangelists put the Baptists in a very awkward position in front of the Soviet government, in view of the fact that both of them have essentially the same teaching. In a conversation with some representatives of the authorities, the Baptists said: could we somehow resolve this issue and were very offended by the evangelists that they had changed their teaching and introduced a schism in their midst.

This summer, the Baptist World Congress took place in Stockholm, which lasted 5 days. For this congress, delegates from Baptist organizations were allowed to leave Russia, who, among about 30 people, left for Stockholm.

This trip of Russian Baptists to the world convention had a certain political significance. The delegates who arrived from Russia, entering the congress premises and seeing that there was no Russian red flag among the national flags hung out, declared to the congress presidium: either our flag will be displayed immediately, or they will not participate in the congress and leave, and they turned to to our Plenipotentiary about rendering assistance to them. Their demand was granted and the flag was flown. On the part of the Russian delegation, two delegates made speeches - Pavlov and Prokhanov, who in their speeches said that nowhere are there better

laws for Baptists than in Soviet Russia and that this country, in principle, in the military question stands on our own point of view, because it has raised the question of world disarmament more than once — and so on.

It is interesting to note that the remaining 4 Baptists after the conference were asked by the Swedish government to leave Sweden within 48 hours, and they stayed an extra day only because one of them was ill and could not leave on time. Presumably, the Swedish government did not particularly allow them to talk, judging by the fact that, despite the large number of delegates (about 2,000 people of different nationalities), the conference lasted only five days, and only two issues were discussed: reports from the field and attitude to military service. At present, all the sectarians, like the clergy, are agitated by the decision of the congress of evangelists on the recognition of military service, and everywhere and everywhere on the ground this issue is being discussed. And since this change of views has just occurred, it is not yet possible to find out the impact of this decision on the ground.

Tolstoyans. The most harmful in the anti-Soviet and anti-militaristic spirit at the present time is the Tolstoy organization, it is true, to a large extent weakened with the expulsion of its most prominent leaders, but absorbed the most hostile elements. Bulgakov, exiled to Czecho-Slovakia, is conducting active anti-Soviet propaganda there, not much different from White Guard propaganda in general. It is characteristic that when one of the evangelists defended the point of view of disobedience to the military authorities, the other participants in the congress took offense at him, saying that he was saturated with Tolstoy's spirit.

The rest of the sects showed themselves little in this time, and the anti-religious commission did not pay special attention to them.

Catholics. After the process of the Catholic clergy and the noise, which raised around the case Tseplyaka [2] * and Budkevich all the capitalist and the White Guard organizations, anti-Soviet activity of the Catholic clergy has shrunk dramatically. It should be noted that

during the campaign, raised around the case of Tseplyak and Budkevich, the pope himself and his associates behaved most decently. Speaking with polemics with our Plenipotentiary in Italy and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on the question of the laws of the Soviet government on church organizations, the Pope nevertheless expressed his readiness to agree to all kinds of agreements on the question of the Catholic Church.

Recently, Catholic parishes, which at one time refused to conclude agreements on the acceptance of religious property of churches, now, these agreements have been concluded almost everywhere. The Pope agreed to replace Catholic priests-Poles with Germans and Italians, but so far the direct results of this agreement are still not visible and the famous Warsaw bishop Ropp, an obvious hater of Soviet power, continues to send orders to priests about resistance to Soviet power.

Muslims. The stratification process is also taking place among the Muslim clergy. This summer, an all-Russian congress of Muslim clergy took place in Ufa (it does not include the Muslim clergy of Turkestan, Transcaucasia, Crimea), which was led by a group loyal to the Soviet regime, which passed a number of resolutions of the renovationist character at the congress: recognition of Soviet power popular power, recognition of the need for secular education for Muslims, etc. This congress elected a government mainly from the Soviet-minded Muslim clergy and - what is especially significant - there is one woman among the members of the Muslim spiritual administration. On behalf of this congress, a well-known proclamation to Muslims around the world was issued in connection with Curzon's note, indicating the oppression of the Muslim peoples by the British imperialists and the religious freedom existing in Russia. Similar sentiments exist in a certain part of the clergy and in the Republics of Transcaucasia, Turkestan and Crimea, and the anti-religious commission considers it necessary to provide all possible assistance in identifying these sentiments. One of the issues that worries the entire Muslim population and the Muslim clergy is the issue of teaching the doctrine to children in

mosques. Muslims insist that the general concept of majority is not applicable to Muslim children, that, according to Muslim concepts, adulthood occurs much earlier (early marriages), so they insist that they be allowed to teach the doctrine to children who have reached the age of 10. In this spirit, a draft decree is being developed to allow children

In Moscow, it is planned to publish a magazine called "Islam" by the Muslim clergy loyal to the Soviet regime. At the same time, the editorial board of The Atheist (the weekly organ of the Glavpolitprosvet) draws attention to placing in the Atheist in the most cautious form materials for anti-religious propaganda among Muslims.

Buddhists. The renovation movement also affected Buddhists. A congress of the Buddhist Mongol-Buryat clergy took place, which made a number of decisions that significantly narrowed the scope of the activity and influence of the Buddhist (Lamai [S] Tsk) clergy. In these resolutions, the monks themselves admit that Buddhist monasteries are still nests of debauchery and malignant growths on the body of the people. In connection with this decree, a number of reforms are being carried out among the lamai [S] t clergy, however, a serious struggle among these clergy can be staged only under the condition of significant expenditures on the establishment of rational medicine (a significant part of the Buryat population is sick with trachoma and syphilis, which are treated by the same clergy on the basis of Tibetan medicine) and an increase in the number of schools with courses in natural sciences.

A similar congress of Buddhist clergy is being convened in the Kalmyk Autonomous Region.

Work among Jews. Work among the Jews was carried out mainly by local organizations. During this time, the central organ of the eusection of the Central Committee of the RCP "Pravda" ("der Emes") published a number of shock articles on anti-religious propaganda. The movement among the Jewish masses is directed mainly towards the closure of choral synagogues and their

transformation into workers' clubs, as well as towards the fight against religious holidays, and in this respect the comrades working among the Jewish masses have achieved significant success. As for the clergy, in view of the absence of any connecting center in the hierarchical organization, waging the struggle on an all-Russian scale is much more difficult. During Curzon's note, when a significant part of the British and Jewish bourgeoisie was fighting against Soviet Russia, the Jewish clergy stubbornly kept silent,

Chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee

Eat. Yaroslavsky.

- *L. 124-125ob. Printing sheets of the time. On l. 124 handwritten resolutions at the top: 1)* "25 / IX. Distribute only to members of the plenum of the Central Committee. A. Bubnov "; *2)* " Comrade Mekhlis" for execution. A. N [azaretyan] ". *Dated according to the dates of the reporting period and the resolution of A. S. Bubnov.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Next, crossed out in ink by hand, originally printed* and by the participants in the party meeting.

[2] * *Hereinafter corrected in* Tsiplyak's *document* .

[55] See comm. 19 to d. 12.

[56] "All-Russian Local Council" of the Renovationists took place in Moscow on April 29 - May 9, 1923, it was held in the 3rd House of Soviets, and then in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior. The exact number of participants in the cathedral remains unknown. V. A. Alekseev considers the most reliable figures: 350 delegates and 120 invited (Alekseev V. A. Illusions and dogmas. M., 1991. S. 245). EA Tuchkov, in his reports to his superiors, called the number of delegates "about 500 people," including 67 bishops (No. P-173, P-176). In the educational publication - Archpriest V. Tsypin. History of the Russian Orthodox Church. 1917-1990. M., 1994. S. 58 - the

figure is 476 delegates, "who broke up into parties: 200 living churchmen, 116 deputies of the Union of Communities of the Old Apostolic Church, 10 from the Church of the Renaissance", 3 non-party renovationists and 66 deputies called "moderate Tikhonovites"

"Metropolitan of Moscow" Antonin Granovsky was elected the honorary chairman of the cathedral, and "Metropolitan of Siberia" Pyotr Blinov was the chairman.

As E. A. Tuchkov emphasized in his report of 05.04 1924 to the head of the SO OGPU TD Deribas, "having at the cathedral more than half of the entire staff - informers, we had the opportunity to turn him in any direction" (No. P-176 , the same in P-173).

In the resolution of the council on the main political report of A. I. Vvedensky "on the attitude of the Church to the October Revolution, Soviet power and Patriarch Tikhon," the socialist revolution was approved, capitalism was condemned, and Patriarch Tikhon's anathematization of fratricidal innovations in 1918 was canceled. The patriarch himself was declared a "traitor to the Church" and was deprived of dignity and monasticism with a return "to the primitive secular situation." At the same time, the council especially emphasized that "the very restoration of the Patriarchate was a definitely political, counter-revolutionary act." The Renovationist Church was headed by the Supreme Church Council formed by the cathedral of 18 people under the chairmanship of "Metropolitan" Antonin Granovsky. "Living Church" headed by V. D. Krasnitsky had 10 seats in the All-Union Central Council, A. I. Vvedensky's SODATS - 6 seats,

The decisions of the cathedral legalized the reforms proposed by the VCU: the introduction of a white episcopate and second marriage of the clergy, the permission of a priest to marry a widow, the closure of city monasteries and the transformation of rural monasteries into "Christian labor communities", the transfer of the church calendar to a new style, and the condemnation of veneration of the relics of saints. However, the proposals of the leaders of the Living Church

for even more radical reforms did not receive support, the discussion was postponed. The Council, in principle, recognized the autonomy of the Ukrainian Church, postponing, however, a detailed discussion of this issue until the next Council. Participants of the Charles Cathedral were excommunicated from the church.

On May 8, 1923, a delegation of the participants in the council handed over to Patriarch Tikhon, who was under arrest, a decree to deprive him of his dignity and monasticism. The patriarch inscribed his resolutions on them - see comm. 34 to d. 25.

EM Yaroslavsky rightly emphasizes in his report (No. 12-58) that the preparation of the congress was in the center of attention of the ARC. Already in the minutes of the meeting of the ARC No. 2 of October 31, 1922 (No. 12-19) and No. 4 of November 14, 1922, it is mentioned that it is advisable to bring to the council the question of autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church and the need to hold the process of Patriarch Tikhon before the meeting of the council (RCKHIDNI , f. 17, op. 112, d. 443a, l. Goiter, 10). At the meeting on December 5, 1922 (Minutes No. 7), the ARC took up the provision of two most important factors for holding the cathedral. These factors are money and violence. Based on the report of E.A.Tuchkov on the earliest possible measures to subordinate the parishes to the renovationist VTsU, decisions were made:

"3. Instruct comrade POPOV to find funds for the pre-conciliar work of the VTsU.

4. Instruct Comrade POPOV to issue a directive through the Central Committee of the RCP with an explanation that the organs carrying out practically church policy at the local level are the GPU departments. " (Here and below, the archival ciphers of the ARC protocols, see note 10 to d. 12.) - RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.443a, l. eighteen.

At the next meeting of the ARC on December 19, 1922 (Minutes No. 8), the issue “On the All-Russian Local Council” is put on the first place on the agenda. As a result of its discussion, it was decided:

“1) For the purpose of the most correct formulation of work on the church question in the localities, taking advantage of the visit of Comrade from the seats to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets [3] to convene a meeting and decide on the agenda of the following issues:

1) Information report on the work of the renovation movement - speaker from G.P.U.

2) On anti-religious propaganda - speaker from the Central Committee of the RCP.

3) On the pre-assembly campaign in the localities - speaker from the Central Committee of the RCP

Submit abstracts on all these issues to the next meeting of the Commission.

4) (*Corrected, in the document erroneously* 5.) Instruct comrade TUCHKOV for the next meeting of the Commission to submit pre-council abstracts intended for distribution to the localities by renewal groups.

As we can see, the preparation of the church council became a matter for the party, Soviet and KGB bodies and immediately assumed the forms characteristic of the new bureaucracy. But the same Protocol No. 8 also records the ongoing efforts of the ARC to make the most effective use of the GPU's apparatus of violence to secure a strong position of the renovationists at the council. When solving the question “3. On Parish Councils "it was decided:

“3) Instruct comrade TUCHKOV, within 2 weeks, to collect information about all active reactionary laity who are members of the parish councils in the center and in the localities with a view to applying measures to them to ensure the reorganization of the parish councils and elections to the All-Russian Local Council "(Ibid., Fol. 20).

At the next meeting of the ARC on December 27, 1922 (Minutes No. 9), the theses of three reports at the meeting on the preparation of the cathedral were approved and the speakers were approved: 1)

Samsonov from the GPU - information report; 2) NN Popov from the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a report on the role of local party organizations in this work (ie, the "pre-conciliar campaign") and on the pre-conciliar agitation; 3) Skvortsov from the Central Committee of the RCP (b) - “about anti-religious propaganda” (ibid., Fol. 22).

At a meeting on January 30, 1923 (Minutes No. 11), the Anti-Religious Commission under the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party allowed for publication and distribution to the localities the Regulation of the VTsU on the convocation of the council, removing from it a number of points where it was declared in advance that “recognition as elected to the Council of social revolution [of yutia] and the association of workers ”, it was said about“ the convention of communion ”. Let us remind you that earlier the ARC commissioned the pre-council theses to be drawn up by EA Tuchkov. The commission decided “to re-elect the parish [councils] before the elections to the council” - in order to have a stronger rear at the council. Finally, fearing opposition from supporters of auto-cephality in Petrograd, headed by the famous Bishop Nikolai (Yarushevich Boris Dorofeevich), whom the commission considered "hidden Tikhonovites", the ARC decided: "The five St. Petersburg clergymen who are planned by the GPU, who are heading the autocephalous movement in St. Petersburg, headed by Bishop Yerushevich, should be arrested and exiled." Bishop Nikolai was exiled to the Zyryanovsk region (ibid., Fol. 24).

Hoping to use the diocesan administrations in the interests of the renovationists, including for the preparation of the council, the ARC at a meeting on February 6, 1923 (protocol No. 12) considered it necessary to jointly telegram the GPU and the NKVD “to propose to the places not to enforce the NKVD circular of] g [ode] No. 78 / s - on the liquidation of diocesan administrations, until further notice ”(ibid., fol. 26).

At the meeting of the ARC on February 27, 1923 (minutes No. 14), a report by EA Tuchkov “On the pre-conciliar work” was heard. On

the basis of the report, resolutions were adopted on measures directed against possible enemies of the renovationists. In Moscow, it was necessary to terminate the agreement of the Moscow City Council on the provision of church premises to the community of the "Free Labor Church", since "this group [...] could harm our church policy and slow down the development of the Renovationist movement." In Petrograd, the ARC rushed with repressions against the autocephalists, it was ordered to "remove" them from St. Petersburg. At the same meeting, the commission considered the issue entitled: "Case No. 17485 of Yerushevich, Sokolsky, Tikhomirov, Ivanovsky and Belyaev, accused of anti-Soviet activities." It was decided: "To urgently complete the case and send." In connection with the preparation of the council, it was also decided: "To propose that the GPU, during the pre-conciliar work, take the most decisive measures against the priests and laity who are on parish councils and actively oppose the pre-conciliar work." Anticipating the council's decisions, the ARC ordered: “To recognize it necessary that the decree on the separation of the church from the State (1918) be fully implemented at the local council” (ibid., Sheets 30-31). E. A. Tuchkov, believing that this resolution could lead to the liquidation of the Supreme Church Administration of the Renovationists, considered the latter inappropriate and suggested in a letter to E. M. Yaroslavsky dated 01.03.1923 to attend to the preservation of the VCU. The Politburo, in its resolution of 03/08/1923, took the same position as EA Tuchkov (confirmed by the ARC on 03/06/1923) - see No. 12-31, 12-32. members of parish councils and actively opposing the pre-conciliar work. " Anticipating the council's decisions, the ARC ordered: “To recognize it necessary that the decree on the separation of the church from the State (1918) be fully implemented at the local council” (ibid., Sheets 30-31). E.A.Tuchkov, believing that this decree could lead to the liquidation of the Supreme Church Administration of the Renovationists, considered the latter inappropriate and suggested in a letter to E.M. The Politburo, in its resolution of 03/08/1923, took the same position as EA Tuchkov (confirmed by the ARC on 03/06/1923) - see No. 12-31, 12-32. members of parish councils and

actively opposing the pre-conciliar work. " Anticipating the council's decisions, the ARC ordered: “To recognize it necessary that the decree on the separation of the church from the State (1918) be fully implemented at the local council” (ibid., Sheets 30-31). E. A. Tuchkov, believing that this resolution could lead to the liquidation of the Supreme Church Administration of the Renovationists, considered the latter inappropriate and suggested in a letter to E. M. Yaroslavsky dated 01.03.1923 to attend to the preservation of the VCU. The Politburo, in its resolution of 03/08/1923, took the same position as EA Tuchkov (confirmed by the ARC on 03/06/1923) - see No. 12-31, 12-32. so that the decree on the separation of the church from the state (1918) was fully implemented at the local council ”(ibid., fol. 30-31). E.A.Tuchkov, believing that this decree could lead to the liquidation of the Supreme Church Administration of the Renovationists, considered the latter inappropriate and suggested in a letter to E.M. The Politburo, in its resolution of 03/08/1923, took the same position as EA Tuchkov (confirmed by the ARC on 03/06/1923) - see No. 12-31, 12-32. so that the decree on the separation of the church from the state (1918) was fully implemented at the local council ”(ibid., fol. 30-31). E. A. Tuchkov, believing that this resolution could lead to the liquidation of the Supreme Church Administration of the Renovationists, considered the latter inappropriate and suggested in a letter to E. M. Yaroslavsky dated 01.03.1923 to attend to the preservation of the VCU. The Politburo, in its resolution of 03/08/1923, took the same position as EA Tuchkov (confirmed by the ARC on 03/06/1923) - see No. 12-31, 12-32.

At the meeting of the ARC on March 06, 1923 (Minutes No. 15), the party leaders continued their active work to determine the future decisions of the Renovationist church council. The party's position turned out to be not as straightforward as one might expect. It seemed that, in every possible way supporting the renovationists, the ARC would strive to approve at the council the most radical church reforms demanded by the renovation leaders. But for the party it turned out to be more important to preserve and deepen the strife, the split between different groups of renovationists over the

issue of these reforms. This explains the decision adopted by the ARC on the issue "About V. Ts. U."

“1) Recognize the need to preserve the VTsU and the existing church renovation groups after the All-Russian local council.

2) Prevent the decision at the council of the issue of church reform, arguing that the UCC and Renovationist groups have not yet prepared the faithful for the reform.

3) Limiting ourselves to an informational] report on this by the VTsU, after the end of the Council, immediately convene congresses in Moscow of all Renovationist groups, where same, fol. 32).

This resolution of the ARC sheds light on the fact, noted by all researchers, of the council's refusal to make a decision on deeper church reforms, which was especially sought by VD Krasnitsky's Living Church, which seemed to have a majority at the council. In fact, E.A.Tuchkov was right, frankly noted in his reports to the Chekist authorities (No. P-173, P-176) that he, Yevgeny Alexandrovich, had the majority at the cathedral, who had a real opportunity to turn the cathedral in any direction he needed ... Maintaining the split between different Renovationist groups with one hand, the head of the VI branch of the SB GPU with the other hand removed the contradictions between them, when their acuteness at the council really threatened the unity of the "anti-Tichon" front.

At the same time, at the same meeting, the ARC approved one of the most important ecclesiastical reforms among those proclaimed by the council later: “To abolish the old style and replace it with a new one at a church council” (ibid., Fol. 33).

At the next meeting of the ARC on March 20, 1923 (Minutes No. 16), the important question “On the time of the opening of the Cathedral” was raised. The commission constantly proceeded from the premise that the cathedral should be opened after teaching all the enemies of the Renovationists an object lesson in the form of a

harsh trial over Patriarch Tikhon. And it all failed to start. Therefore, it was decided:

"[6.] 3) In view of the fact that the process of Tikhon must be completed before the Council, the opening of the latter must take place not earlier than April 30" (ibid., L. 35).

It should be noted that E. M. Yaroslavsky sent a note to the Politburo and personally to "Kamenev, Stalin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Rykov, Dzerzhinsky," where he declares the ARC's disagreement with the Politburo's principled decision to postpone the trial of the patriarch and the postponement of the opening of the Cathedral (No. 25-24). However, the Politburo, adopting on April 21, 1923, at the suggestion of F.E.Dzerzhinsky, a resolution to postpone the trial of the patriarch (which ultimately turned out to be the cancellation of the process), took into account many foreign and domestic political factors, as well as the changing alignment of forces within the party leadership. The council had to be held without having such a trump card in its hands as a verdict of guilty in the case of the patriarch.

At its meeting on March 27, 1923 (Minutes No. 17), the Anti-Religious Commission decided one of the most important issues within the jurisdiction of the council - "On the composition of the VTsU after the council," that is, on the leadership of the new church. The case will come to a specific list of persons a little later, while the general principles have been approved:

"1. Leave the composition of the VTsU as a coalition, that is, consisting of different church groupings.

2. Not to elect the chairman of the VTsU by the council, to elect the VTsU, which after the council will elect the chairman from itself "- the usual party-apparatus procedure that ensures (contrary to the practice of the Local Council of 1917-1918) the nomination of the person indicated from above to the main post in the church.

Finally, the question was raised about the head of the cathedral itself. First, the ARC decided it like this:

"3. The chairman of the Council should be KRASNITSKY ". Then, in the draft protocol, the wording was changed by hand to a softer one:

"3. To designate KRASNITSKY as the actual Chairman of the Council "(ibid., Fol. 37).

It was not an easy question, Krasnitsky could scare away many with his behavior; We do not know whether and if so, where, the candidacy of "Metropolitan" Pyotr Blinov, who held the chair at the council, was confirmed. It is only known that this problem required special care of the ARC during the cathedral itself.

When the ARC, at a meeting on May 4, 1923, heard the "Report of Comrade TUCHKOV on the progress of the work of the cathedral ", the resolution had to provide for measures precisely in connection with the problem of the chairman of the cathedral:

"In view of the fact that Krasnitsky, due to the decline of his authority among a large part of the Soborians, may try [s] to arrange a scandal at the cathedral in order to discredit the" chairman] of the Council - BLINOV, - instruct Comrade Tuchkov to take measures to eliminate this phenomenon and involve KRASNITSKAGO in an active coordinated work of the Council ".

At the same time, the ARC ordered that representatives of the GPU and Agitprop jointly carry out the final censorship of the personnel of the top leadership of the Renovationist Church elected at the council:

"To instruct the list of the Plenum of the VTsU to review comrade Tuchkov and Popov ".

Finally, the ARC did not ignore such a detail as the ceremony of announcing to the arrested patriarch a conciliar decree on deprivation of his dignity:

"To allow the Council's demotion to remove the dignity from Tikhon. To entrust this implementation to G.P.U. " - RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 115, l. 53. See also comm. 34 to d. 25.

These are the resolutions adopted by the ARC during the preparation and holding of the renovation council of 1923.

[57] See comm. 34 to d. 25.

[58] This refers to the former Bishop of Volokolamsk Theodore (Pozdeevsky Alexander Vasilyevich, 03/21/1876 - 10/23/1937), manager of the Moscow Danilov Monastery, since August 1923, Archbishop, one of the most prominent and learned hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church. Since 1922 he was repeatedly arrested. He was shot in 1937 in the Ivanovo prison.

[59] Renovation Metropolitan Seraphim - Seraphim Alexandrov, nicknamed "Lubyansky" in church circles (Acts of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon ... p. 800). See No. P-37.

The draft resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the development of instructions for the registration of religious societies, proposed by the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) [Not later than November 1, 1923]

No. 12-59

DRAFT REGULATION.

IN THE POLITBURO PC.

Listened:	Resolved:
About registration religious societies.	To recognize the need to develop instructions for ofthe registration of religious societies in a spirit that gives the "Holy Synod" and provincial diocesan administrations power over the parish councils.

DEPUTY [EATER] PREV [SEATER] ANTI-RELIGIOUS COMMISSION: N. Popov.

- L. 127. Typewritten original, signature - autograph. Above is a handwritten note about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 41, item 15 of November 1, 1923 (No. 12-60). Dated from this litter.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on "questions of the anti-religious commission. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 41, paragraph 15 of November 1, 1923

No. 12-60

MOST SECRET

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
15. Questions of the anti-religious commission (comrades N. N. Popov, Smidovich).	15. Postpone.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 126. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on November 1, 1923. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "com. NN POPOV, SMIDOVICH ". *Above is a handwritten note:* "Anti-religious". *Below is a handwritten note referring to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 43, item 20 of November 10, 1923 (No. 12-61).*

- ^ APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.372, l. 32. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the form of resolutions of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Column "Heard" *on a typewriter, column* "Decided" *by hand. Item number* "15" is *corrected by hand from the original* "20". *At the bottom right is the mailing record:* "Extract com. Popov NN, Smidovich ". *On the right is the stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number. L. 4:* "PRESENTED: Members of the Politburo: Comrades. Zinoviev, Kamenev [1] *, Rykov, Stalin, Tomsky, Trotsky. Candidates for members of the Politburo: Comrades Bukharin, Kalinin, Molotov, Rudzutak. Members of the Central Committee: vol. [2] * Sokolnikov. Members of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission: Comrades Kuibyshev, Solts, Yaroslavsky ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Further crossed out by* Lenin.

[2] * *Further crossed out* Comrade Pyatakov, Radek.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the development of instructions on the registration of religious societies and on Muslim theological schools. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 43, paragraph 20 of November 10, 1923

No. 12-61

MOST SECRET.

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
20. - Questions of the anti-religious commission. (Comrades N.N. Popov and Smidovich).	20. - a) Suggest the anti-religious commission to develop instructions on the registration of religious societies in the spirit of the report of Comrade Popova; b) instruct the anti-religious commission to submit to the next regular meeting of the Politburo a draft Soviet resolution pursuant to the Politburo's resolution from Z.Kh. (protest [about] 37 p. 17) on the admission in some parts of the USSR of the organization of Muslim theological schools [60] .

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 128. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on November 10, 1923. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "Com. Popov NN and Smidovich ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.374, l. 37-37ob. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the letterhead of the Politburo resolutions, the column "They listened to" *on a typewriter, the column* "Decided" *by hand in red ink. At the bottom right is the mailing record:* "Extract com. Popov NN, Smidovich, Broido (p. B) ". *L. 3:* "Present: Members of the Politburo Comrades. Zinoviev, Kamenev [1] *, Rykov, Stalin, Tomsky, Trotsky. Candidates for members of the Politburo: Comrades Bukharin [2] *, Molotov, Rudzutak. Central Committee members: comrades. Dzerzhinsky [3] *, Tsyurupa, Chubar, Smirnov

A.P. [3] * Members of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission: com. Kuibyshev, Solts, Yaroslavsky ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Further crossed out by* Lenin.

[2] * *Further crossed out by* Kalinin.

[3] * *Inscribed above the line by hand instead of crossed out* Pyatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov.

[60] In the draft minutes No. 37 of the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) dated 03.10.1923, there is clause 17 "On Muslim theological schools (Comrades Smidovich, V.N. Yakovleva, Klinger)", the decision on which reads:

"To admit in certain parts of the USSR with the most backward and religious fanatical population, as an exception from the general order, the organization of Muslim theological schools."

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.368, l. 20.

Note by the Deputy Chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) NN Popov to IV Stalin on the immediate approval of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) of the instruction on the registration of religious societies [Between November 16 and 22, 1923]

No. 12-62

Comrade Stalin

I ask you to approve the instructions in the order of questioning the members of the Politburo. Further delay is associated with catastrophic consequences for the so-called. church renovation movement and will nullify all the work of the anti-religious commission and G.P.U. since last fall. The only principled point of instruction [1] *, to which the Politburo has already given its sanction , is underlined by me.

N. Popov

*- L. 130. Handwritten original, autograph. In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: "*To business. <...> [2] * ". *In the upper right corner there is a handwritten note about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 47, paragraph 13 of November 22, 1923 (No. 12-63) and the stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with handwritten date* "23 / XI- 23 g " *and the incoming number. Dated by the date of litter No. 12-65 and No. 12-63.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Inscribed above the line in the same handwriting.*

[2] * *Illegible signature.*

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the "draft instruction on the registration of religious societies." From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 47, paragraph 13 of November 22, 1923

No. 12-63

MOST SECRET

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
13. Draft instructions on the registration of religious societies (PB No. 43 p. 20 of 10 /XI). (Comrade Popov N. N.)	13. Postpone until the next regular meeting of the Politburo.

Secretary of the Central Committee

*- L. 129. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on November 22, 1923. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "*com. NN POPOV, SMIDOVICH ". *Below is a handwritten note referring to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 49, item 17 of November 29, 1923 (No. 12-64).*

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.378, l. 23. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the form of resolutions of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Column "Heard" *on a typewriter, column* "Decided" *by hand in red ink. After* "comrade. Popov NN *"crossed out* " Smidovich ". *At the bottom right is the mailing record: "*Extract com. Popov NN, Smidovich ". *On the right is the stamp of the Secret Archives of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with an inventory number. L. 3: "*PRESENTED: Members of the Politburo: Comrades. Zinoviev, Kamenev [1] *, Rykov, Stalin, Tomsky [2] *. Candidates for members of the Politburo: Comrades Bukharin, Kalinin [3] *, Rudzutak. Members of the Central Committee: comrades. Dzerzhinsky [4] *, Tsyurupa [4]*. Members of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission: Comrades Kuibyshev, Solts [5] * ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Further crossed out by* Lenin.

[2] * *Further,* Trotsky is *crossed out* .

[3] * *Inscribed above the line by hand instead of crossed out* Kalinin, Molotov.

[4] * *Inscribed above the line by hand instead of crossed out* Pyatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov.

[5] * *Further crossed out* Yaroslavsky.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on "a draft instruction on the registration of religious societies. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 49, paragraph 17 of November 29, 1923

No. 12-64

MOST SECRET

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
17. Draft instruction on the registration of religious societies. (PB 47, p. 15 of 22 / XI-23) (T. Popov N.N.)	17. Instruct Comrade Kamenev, together with the anti-religious commission, to consider the draft instruction - to establish the final text and send it to the members of the Politburo for a written vote.

Secretary of the Central Committee:

- L. 134. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on November 29, 1923. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "T.t. Kamenev, Popov NN, Smidovich ". *Below is a handwritten note referring to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 73, item 23 of February 26, 1924 (No. 12-66).*

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 380, l. 38. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Original on the order form

Politburo, column "Listened" *on a typewriter, column* "Decided" *by hand in red ink. At the bottom right is the mailing record:* "Extract com. Kamenev, Popov NN, Smidovich ". *On the right is the stamp of the Secret Archives of the CPSU (b) with an inventory number. L. 3:* "Present: Members of the Politburo Comrades. Zinoviev, Kamenev [1] *, Rykov, Stalin, Tomsky, Trotsky. Candidates for members of the Politburo: Comrades [2] * Molotov [3] *. Central Committee members: comrades. Sokolnikov, Dzerzhinsky [4] *, Lashevich, A.P. Smirnov, Tsyurupa [4] *. Members of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission: Comrades Solts, Gusev [5] * ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Further crossed out by* Lenin.

[2] * *Further crossed out* Bukharin, Kalinin.

[3] * *Then* Rudzutak is *crossed out* .

[4] * *Inscribed by hand above the line instead of crossed out* Pyatakov, Radek.

[5] * *Inscribed by hand above the line instead of crossed out* Kuibyshev, Yaroslavsky.

Draft Instruction on the Registration of Orthodox Religious Societies [Not later than February 26, 1924]

No. 12-65

Project [1] *

INSTRUCTIONS FOR REGISTRATION OF ORTHODOX RELIGIOUS GROUPS AND [2] * SOCIETIES [2] *.

In view of the fact that the instruction on the registration of religious societies published in the newspaper Izvestia VTsIK dated April 27 of this year. No. 92 and the Normal Charter of Religious Societies, published in the same newspaper [3] * of May 10, p. of [61] identified [4] * the way for the implementation of the decree on the ground of the church from the state department for all cults, regardless of their features - for those cults that have historically contributed very specific form of the church hierarchy, the above-mentioned instructions must be adapted to these features ...

For this purpose, in addition to the above instructions for registering religious societies and to ensure the free exercise of their worship by believers in accordance with their [5] * religious rules, this instruction is announced on the procedure for registering religious groups [6] * and [6] * societies [7] * of the Orthodox faith.

1. Citizens of the RSFSR of the Orthodox faith, forming [8] * religious groups and societies, as they previously had in their use [8] * churches and religious property in the order of the instruction of the NKYu dated August 24, 1918 (Collection [ianie] [9] * Legalizations] 1918 No. 62 , Art. 685) [62] , so [10] * and newly organized ones are obliged to register in accordance with the instructions of the NKYU and NKVD of April 27, 23 (News of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee No. [2] 92-23) [63] in compliance with the following [11] * rules [10] *.

NOTE: I. [12] * Religious groups and [13] * societies of the Orthodox faith, already [14] * registered [14] * according to the instructions published in [15] * News [reports] of the All-Russian Central Executive

Committee of April 27, [16] *, [17] * are not subject to new [17] * registration [18] *.

2. [19] * Prior to re-registration in the specified [20] * above [20] * order and [21] * to [21] * receipt of the above identity groups remain faithful in their use of temples and religious property used by them in the [20] * currently, and [20] * the right of religious groups assigned ...

2 [22] *. Citizens wishing to register [23] * or re-register [24] * their religious group or society [23] * must submit, together with an application to the Department of the Administration of the Lubs or the Regional Executive Committee a) the minutes of the meeting of the group or [25] * society [25] *, in which it should be indicated that [26] * is a group or the society is adjacent to the Orthodox faith [26] *, b) a list of members of the group or [25] * society [25] * in triplicate indicating: in 1) surname, first name and patronymic, in 2) place of residence and address, and [20] * in 3) citizenship [27] *, in 4) kind[20] * occupations and income [20] *, social and official status since 1914, in 5) property status [28] *, c) [29] * stamp duty in the established amount.

NOTE: I. [30] * Each group or [31] * society of [31] * Orthodox cults, wishing to retain their churches and religious property, must consist of at least 20 [32] * people [sheep].

2. [33] * No statutes of the group or [20] * society [20] * of the Orthodox faith at [34] * do not represent registration, - the statutes presented earlier are not valid.

3 [35] *. - In the absence of conditions that serve as an obstacle to the organization of a group or [36] * society [36] *, the departments of Gub [20] * or Regional Executive Committees enter them into the register [20] *, issue a certified [37] * copy of the list of [37] * members with an inscription on registration and hand [38] * for signing agreement for [38] * use of temples [39] * and religious property according to the inventory [40] * attached to the agreement [39] *.

NOTE [20] *: About all members of the group or society who leave, they are obliged to inform the management departments, as well as about [41] arriving members *, moreover, all information required by

paragraph b of Art. 2nd. The absence as a result of the retirement of the required number of members (20) leads to the termination of the contract [20] *.

4 [42] *. - The Department of Management grants the right to exclude [43] * from the list of a group or community of members who have been convicted or put on trial [43] *.

5 [44] *. - The jurisdiction of the Orthodox groups or [45] * companies [45] *, have signed management agreements with departments to adopt the temples [20] * and [20] * of the cult of the property includes all the economic side, associated with the maintenance of the temple. Members of [46] * groups and societies [46] * are persons responsible for the [20] * safety of the property transferred to them [20] *, for the payment of [47] * taxes and [20] * taxes related to the property transferred for their use [20] *, and for maintaining public silence and order [48]* at all meetings and services associated with this group.

6 [49] *. - Registered groups or [51] * societies [51] * at the general meeting by a majority vote elect the members of the parish council and clergy, whose names by name with the information required [52] * paragraph 2 [53] * of this instruction [52] *, previously [54] * certified by diocesan administrations are received [54] * registration of departments of management of Gubs and Regional Executive Committees.

7 [55] *. - Registration of groups or [56] * companies under clause 3 and clause 6 [56] * is free of charge, except for the collection of [57] * established stamp duties [57] *.

8 [20] *. - Exclusion from the register of registered groups and societies and violation of agreements on the use of church buildings and religious property occurs by decisions of the Presidiums of the Executive Committees, in accordance with the resolution of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dated March 29, 23 [66] (From [address] Legalizations]) [20] *.

9 [58] *. - These instructions are meant only those groups or [59] * Society [59] * Orthodox faith, koi are only [20] * in order to ensure the administration of the cult [60] *.

Religious societies of persons of the Orthodox faith, having other purposes besides worship [61] *, are registered [62] * with the obligatory approval of the charter. [63] *

- L. 131-133. (AND). A typewritten copy of that time. On l. 131 in the upper left corner are PA Krasikov's handwritten notes: 1) "For the signature of Comrade Kurskiy. 14 / XI. P. Krasikov "; *2)* "16 / XI. Signed". *His hand on l. 133 after the text there is an entry:* "Signed by Kurskiy and Khloplyankin." *On l. 131 handwritten incoming number, which coincides with the incoming number of the stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on document number 12-62. The broad date indicated by us in the title of the document is conditional, it is tied to the date of its final approval by the Politburo on February 26, 1924 (No. 12-66). Meanwhile, the document was worked out and considered for a very long time - E. A. Tuchkov's litter on the copy of RCKHIDNI (G) was made on 08.08, 1923; in the preamble of the APRF (A) list there is a mention* "p. g. " *for 1923*

- L. 136-138. (B). Certified typewritten copy made for the office work of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). Above L. 136 typewritten text of N. N. Popov's note is reproduced: "BASED ON Cde. N. POPOV ". *Below is a typewritten note stating that the document is an appendix to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 73, paragraph 23 of February 26, 1924 (No. 12-66). On l. 138 after the text the typewritten entry is reproduced:* "Signed by KURSKY and KHLOPLYANKIN". *The first surname was corrected by hand from the original:* "KURENIM".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 404, L. 53-55. (AT). Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. A typewritten copy of that time, certified by the typewritten signature of the Deputy Secretary of the Politburo MN Burakova. Above L. 53 typescript reproduced the text of N. N. Popov's note. On l. 55 after the text the typewritten entry is reproduced: "Signed by KURENIM and KHLOPLYANKIN". *On l. 53 handwritten notes by VM Molotov:* "I agree. V. Molotov ". *In his own hand, a litter that the document is an*

appendix to the Politburo resolution, protocol No. 73, item 23 of February 26, 1924 (No. 12-66). Above is a stamp about the same. On the left is a mailing stamp with a handwritten date "20.IX. 1923 g. " *and outgoing number. Below is the stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a handwritten date* "24 / 11-24"*and the incoming number (the initial day number in the date* "23").

- Ibid, l. 57. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Handwritten original of N. N. Popov's note, autograph. On the note there is a handwritten note of A. Nazaretyan, Assistant Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (Bolshevik): " P.B. Interview. Send out again to the members of the pb. A. Nazaretyan] ". *A stamp on belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 73, p. 23 of February 26, 1924 (No. 12-66). Stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with handwritten date* "28 / 11-24 g." *and the incoming number.*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d.158, l. 26-28. (D). Typewritten copy of that time, certified by E.A.Tuchkov. On l. 26 handwritten litter by E. A. Tuchkov: " T. Yaroslavsky . I ask you to urgently put on P [olitby] ro of the Central Committee. E. Tuchkov. 8/8 ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *No B; crossed out in ink by V. M. Molotov V.*

[2] * (communities) *G.*

[3] * zatele *G.*

[4] * ahead of G.

[5] * *No G.*

[6] * *No G.*

[7] * *Added* for *G.*

[8] * who adopted G.

[9] * national team [ik] *G.*

[10] * as well as newly emerging or emerging Orthodox] communities are obliged to register the religious groups formed by them on the basis of the Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dated 3 / 22III 22 (Collected [ik] Legislations] No. 48 Article 622) [64] in accordance with this instruction G.

[11] * stated *BV.*

[12] * *No G.*

[13] * (communities) or *G.*

[14] * who managed to register *G.*

[15] * *Added to the* newspaper *G.*

[16] * p. *G.*

[17] * re-registration *G.*

[18] * *C D next item 2 is not a footnote.*

[19] * *Added* According to the resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of 3 / VIII-22 *G.*

[20] * *No G.*

[21] * of this manual and *G.*

[22] * *3 G.*

[23] * to preserve the temples and religious property of *G.*

[24] * *Corrected by BV,* re-register *in A.*

[25] * (communities) *G.*

[26] * the decision not to have among its leaders (members of the parish council) persons convicted or under trial and investigation for criminal and political crimes *G.*

[27] * social status of *G.*

[28] * *No G.*

[29] * *In D before c) added* in the sixth, the time of joining the church.

[30] * a) G.

[31] * (community) persons *G.*

[32] * *Added* and no more than 50 *G.*

[33] * b) *G.*

[34] * or *BV;* to *G.*

[35] * *7 G.*

[36] * (communities) *G.*

[37] * certificate of this and list *G.*

[38] * is transferred to *G* g .

[39] * to the newly organized society, temples and all religious property according to *G.*

[40] * *In D, three paragraphs are further added:*

8. Religious groups (communities) of the Orthodox faith that are not registered within the period specified by the NCJ are considered closed, the agreement with them on the use of the temple and religious property is considered terminated, the temple and property can be transferred to another group on a general basis under the agreement specified in Art. 685 Legalizations] Orders] of the Government] edition of 1918 [65] .

9. Religious societies of the Orthodox faith may establish voluntary fees for general needs related to the possession of religious property, and conclude contracts of a private legal nature related to the care of religious property.

10. Supervision over the observance by religious groups (communities) of the laws of the Republic and the ordinances of the Administrative bodies is entrusted to the HKBD. and Department of Lip Management. and Obl. Executive committees and prosecutors by affiliation.

[41] * *Corrected by B, in A residing.*

[42] * 5 G.

[43] * recusal or subsequent elimination of members of groups (communities) compromised by criminal offenses or politically dangerous

D. In D, one paragraph is further added:

6. Department of Lip Management. or Obl. The Executive Committee refuses to register an organized group (community) a) if its members evade answers to the set s. 3 questions, b) if a given group (community) unites around a person who has been deprived of the right or is on trial and investigation, and c) if the number of members of the group is less than 20 people.

[44] * 4 G.

[45] * (communities) *G.*

[46] * They are G.

[47] * Added corresponding G.

[48] * calm *G.*

[49] * 11 *G.*

[51] * (communities) *G.*

[52] * about the place of residence, citizenship, occupation and income, social and official status since 1914, property status of *BV.*

[53] * *Corrected in line by handwritten ink from originally printed 6.*

[54] * are submitted for approval to the local diocesan administrations. Diocesan Directorates, the lists approved by them are submitted by *G.*

[55] * NOTE: G.

[56] * (communities) must *G.*

[57] * Application Fees *G.*

[58] * 12 *G.*

[59] * (communities) *G.*

[60] * *Added* in a specific temple, which conclude this with the Department of the Lips Administration. and Obl. Executive committees agreements for the acceptance of cult property *G.*

[61] * *Added* example: Society adherents of Orthodoxy, Ancient Apostolic Church, and so on.. *G.*

[62] * *Added* according to existing rules on religious societies

[63] * *In D, one paragraph is further added:*

13. The procedure for closing the company is determined by Art. 6 and 11 of the resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of 3 / VIII-22, [67]

[61] See comm. 44 to d. 12. For the normal charter of religious societies, see: Izvestia of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. 1923 May 10; Revolution and Church. 1923. No. 1-3. S. 117-118.

[62] See comm. 30 to d. 12.

[63] See comm. 44 to d. 12.

[64] See comm. 47 to d. 12.

[65] This refers to the Treaty (Appendix No. 1 to the NCJ Instruction on the procedure for enforcing the decree on the separation of church from state and school from church from 24.08.1918).

- SU. 1918. No. 62. S. 764-765.

[66] See comm. 48 to d. 12.

[67] See comm. 47 to d. 12.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the approval of the instruction on the registration of Orthodox religious societies. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 73, paragraph 23 of February 26, 1924

No. 12-66

MOST SECRET.

LISTENED.	IT WAS RESOLVED.
23. On the approval of the instructions for the registration of Orthodox religious groups and societies, (Comrade Popov).	Approve. (see appendix) [68]

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 135. Typewritten copy of a later extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) - RCP (b) of the second half of the 1920s.

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.404, l. 52. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on *February* 27 *, 1924. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed:* "Comrade Vol. Popov, Khloplyankin, Kursky ". *Below, under the text of the extract, the voting results are printed:* "com. Bukharin, Rykov - abstain [69] , comrades. Molotov, Rudzutak, Kalinin, Kamenev are in favor. "

Notes and Comments:

[68] Appendix to this document is No. 12-65 (B).

[69] In the draft minutes of the Politburo meeting (APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 404, l. 56) there is a telephone message from A. I. Rykov "on the issue of registration and verification of religious societies", adopted on 23 February 1924 by the head archive of the Politburo T. A. Slovatinskaya. This telephone message is a response to a proposal to approve the instruction through a poll vote. AI Rykov made the following remarks: 1) on point 26) "I think these are many millions of Orthodox Christians; [to compile] this kind of inventory is very

difficult and unnecessary ": 2) on point 4" I see no reason for local Soviets to take upon themselves the responsibility of cleansing religious communities of criminal elements - in my opinion, Orthodox Christians can believe in God and at the same time steal - there is no contradiction here and therefore I abstain from voting. "

Letter from a group of communists in the city of Usman, Voronezh province, to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee about excesses in the church policy of local authorities. June 25, 1924

No. 12-67

TO THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Head of] Church Houses of a group of communists in the city of U Sman, Voronezh province, Usmansky at [ride] We are a group of Usmansky communists, following in the footsteps of our dear leader V. I. Lenin. by their henchmen.

It is still too early to commit violence against Orthodoxy and openly oppose it in front of the people. This will naturally come into life when our new generation, which is now being brought up in an anti-religious spirit, does not stick to religion and the church.

It is too early to close parish churches, especially in villages. Citizens are outraged, angry against the government and the party. Especially now, when a complete crop failure and even famine are expected in our district due to drought. They already have a very depressed and heavy mood from the coming winter, and here before their very eyes they are clearly tormented by their religious feeling. The drunk our leaders go to the village Novouglyanska, Usman district, Voronezh province. With [1] * whooping ordered to shoot down crosses [1] * topchat them and are told the same thing to make the orphanage children in front of rural citizens who have a terrible anger against the government. This is how our government, the party, is being treated.

Again, bullying against the cooperative Nadezhda. They gave everything without prejudice, remained in a small building away from the shelter, where they could have been isolated from them and where our bosses suggested they go in order to fence them in with a wall and let them live out their lives. But this was a public deception. Several days passed after the transition, it became clear that there was a clear opposition to the artel, and now it is reaching almost to hand-to-hand combat. Very often late in the evening, in

the hope that rural citizens, tired of field work, are sleeping, our chiefs come to the Nadezhda artel, having made a good supply of alcohol for courage with three-story words, they drive the unfortunates living there, they drive them anywhere and without any decree, without giving a preliminary suitable premises , and the latter in fright run anywhere, they spend the night under the haystacks and with rural citizens of the nearest village of Novouglyansk; by virtue of which the hatred of the authorities again grows and grows stronger. After all, the Nadezhda artel is also a sister of peasants and people.

In their actions, our bosses show no tactics or prudence.

We are a group of communists following the behests of our dear V.I.Lenin and are indignant. A group that does not have any luxurious [1] * apartments, luxurious furnishings, who do not dress our wives like dolls, in expensive dresses, does not drink any alcohol, does not receive a large salary, we are indignant at these outrages and ask the Center to radically stop the disgrace and violence. By these actions, they sow enmity, anger and distrust of the authorities. We ask you to honor the memory of our dear leader and make an order to stop the outrage at the root.

We also add that for the bribes of our leaders, bourgeois from former wealthy merchants often carry their official duties, who find themselves in institutions and turn them around, having spineless presidents. Or it happens that for bribes from one family 4 members serve, and from another one employee in the family is reduced. And the bourgeois say they need protection and gifts. When will this meanness stop? Is this what our great leader dear Ilyich bequeathed to us?

The excitement grows, but the bosses do not see - they serve somehow during the day, and they have a carouse in the evening and at night.

Not because of any power or place in the promotion service, but because of an idea, we ask the Center to meet us halfway, and not

because of slander, but everything that is happening with us is disgusting.

A group of communists with a sound head on their shoulders - communists, small bipods in the service, but who want to work according to the true idea of communism and in contact with the Center.

Everywhere there should be tactics and caution and prudence, and such an action more strengthens the religious feeling and kindles passion for it.

1924 June 25 days.

- L. 141-142. A typewritten copy made for the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and certified by the signature of the clerk of the Secretariat of the Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee L. Nekrasova; no signatures. Below on l. 142 round official stamp: "Secretariat of the Chairman V.Ts.I.K."

Notes and Comments:

[1] ** Imprinted above the line.*

Summary of the head of the VI Department of the Secret Department of the OGPU E. A. Tuchkov "excesses on the basis of the closure of churches and the actions of Komsomol members." July 4, 1924

No. 12-68

Top secret , Keep secret.

SUMMARY

excesses on the basis of the closure of churches and the actions of the Komsomol.

Here are the most typical ones:

1) In the village of Moshkovo, Novo-Nikolaevsk province, the peasants were allowed to build a wooden church, subject to the rebuilding of the school. When the peasants, after fulfilling all the conditions and rebuilding the church, wanted to carry out the ceremony of its consecration, the VIK forbade this ceremony to be performed. The assembled crowd of up to 3,000 people was very violent and had great difficulty in calming them down.

2) When the church in the Shcherbinsky mine of the Bakhmutsky District (Donetsk province) was closed, which was done according to the resolution of the meeting of the mine workers, when they began to take things out of the church, a crowd of up to 400 people dissatisfied with the closure began to throw stones at the police and party members, shouting curses at the address communists. Several people were injured by stones.

3) In the village of DMITROVKA, Taganrog District, on the initiative of the Executive Committee of Comrade MENKOVSKY, it was decided to close one of the two existing churches, adapting it to cultural needs.

The discontent population was intimidated by some order. When the dome was broken, the crowd, which had previously behaved passively, took the keys to the church from the librarian and burst] into the church, began tossing the pews already placed in the

church, tore up posters, etc. icons. The crowd rushed there. The arriving police, after the crowd did not obey the demand to disperse and fired two shots upward, opened fire on the crowd, as a result of which 3 women, one infant and one boy (1 deceased and three seriously wounded) were injured.

4) The district council of the village of TRAVNIKOVA, Miass district sold the church of the consumer / commune for scrap; when the church was destroyed, a crowd gathered, which dispersed the workers who were dismantling the church, with threats to use physical violence against them.

5) At the closure of the mine church in the town of SHAKHTY, a huge crowd gathered, which allocated a delegation to the Okrispolkom with the demand [1] * to open the church. The crowd did not obey the demand to disperse, entered the bell tower, raised the bell, burst into the church and here the priest gave a very provocative sermon, with calls to protect the church in the future. A crowd of up to 1,500 people in the street said that we should go to free other churches as well. The equestrian reserve of the militia with a machine gun was met with stones.

6) In the village of TYAZHIN, Tomsk province, after a rally about people's domos, manger, etc., Volkom's secretary MALKOV made a speech, proposing to vote the following proposal: let [2] * raise his hand [2] *, and who will not raise his hand [2] * , then he wants to transfer it with the inventory. Most of them, indignant, left. The same Malkov went to other villages, where he collected several signatures with the same approach. When the closure was carried out, a crowd of 500 people shouted: you better kill [,] and we won't let the church close. As a result, it was necessary to conclude here a new dog [o] r for the use of the church.

7) In the village of NOSOVKA, Chernihiv province, the Deputy District Executive Committee, after negotiations with individual autocephalists (the Ukrainian chauvinist movement in the church), closed the Tikhonov church on the eve of the Annunciation. The believers who came the next day opened the church, and the

ceremony was performed. Then the priest was imprisoned. A crowd gathered, demanding his release and [3] * beat the policeman, who demanded [3] * that the crowd disperse.

8) In the city of Bryansk, local Komsomol members [4] * on the night before one of the holidays opened the church and entered the bell tower, taking away the church inventory and removing the tongues from the bells, after which they carried it all into the forest, where they burned what could have been burned. The audience, in strong indignation, denounces the RKSM as a bandit and hooligan organization.

9) In the village of Akulovo, TULA province, Komsomol members who tried to conduct anti-religious agitation during the procession were beaten.

10) In the Irkutsk province, in one of the villages, during an anti-religious evening, a grenade was thrown at the RKSM club, which seriously wounded 4 people.

Head of the 6th department of the SO OGPU E. Tuchkov

July 4, 1924.

- *L. 140-rev. Typewritten script, signature and date number - autograph. On l. 140 in the upper left corner of the litter by the hand of E. A. Tuchkov:* " Absolutely] Secret [etno]. Personally to Comrade Smidovich. 4/7. E. Tuchkov ".

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Further crossed out in ink by hand, originally printed* close.

[2] * *Fixed by hand-ink instead of originally printed* means wants to hand it over without inventory.

[3] * *Corrected by hand-ink instead of the originally printed* beating militiaman demanding.

[4] * *Fixed, in the document* komosoltsy.

MI Kalinin's letter to the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to JV Stalin on the non-fulfillment at the local level of the circular letter of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the attitude towards religious organizations. July 8, 1924

No. 12-69

July 8, 1924

Central Committee of the RCP Comrade STALIN.

Neither the circular of the Central Committee of the RKP dated 16 / VIII-23, [70] , nor the corresponding instructions of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, nor a number of instructions from the 5th Department of N.K.Yu. did not lead to a calm conduct of church issues on the ground, which is proved by daily appeals to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

It seems to me that the main reason is that the Central Committee is all the same too softly towards violators of Party directives in the field of the religious question.

I would like you, comrade. Stalin, got acquainted with the documents, would have given on behalf of the Central Committee a strict directive on the mandatory implementation of the directives of the Central Committee.

By the way, the desire to seize an increasing number of churches and vice versa is growing - the power of resistance is growing, irritation of the broad masses of believers is growing.

Appropriate measures must be taken.

I am enclosing a summary of the GPU and a document of exceptional importance, emanating from the Communists, without a signature.

M. Kalinin

- L. 139 — rev. Typewritten original on the letterhead of the Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, signature - autograph. Date

on the form: handwritten number, month and the last two digits of the year in typescript. On l. 139 handwritten litter: " Arch [iv] Central Committee ".

Notes and Comments:

[70] This refers to document number 12-56.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the Deputy Chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 27, paragraph 37 of October 9, 1924

No. 12-71

MOST SECRET.

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
37. [1] * On the Deputy Chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission (Comrade Yaroslavsky).	To appoint P. G. Smidovich as deputy chairman of the anti-religious commission under the Central Committee instead of Comrade N. N. Popov.

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 143. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on October 9, 1924. In the column number of the form in the upper left corner there is a typewritten note *:* "P27 / opr [wasp] -m / s" *. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed:* "T. t. Yaroslavsky, Smidovich, Krasikov. " In the upper left corner there is a handwritten note: "To anti-religious]".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.454, l. 64. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), rotated by 90 ° during printing. Below is an ink mark on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting No. 27, item 37 of October 9, 1924. The document is in the part of the minutes where on October 9 the decisions taken earlier by the poll were drawn up. Below the text there is an entry about the

mailing: “Com. Yaroslavsky, Smidovich, Krasikov. " *L. 5:* “Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin. Candidates Comrades Molotov, Rudzutak, Sokolnikov. Members of the Central Committee Comrades Krasin, Kaganovich, Pyatakov, Smirnov A.P., Chubar, Bubnov. Members of the Central Control Commission Comrades Solts, Yaroslavsky, Kuibyshev, Gusev, Yanson ".

Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Organizing Bureau No. 37, item 17 of October 17, 1924

No. 12-72

MOST SECRET.

LISTENED:

17. On the composition of the anti-religious commission of the Central Committee (resolution] ON from 3 / X pr [report] No. 33 p. 15-6.) [71] (Comrade Abolin).

IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:

17. a) Introduce additionally the following comrades to the anti-religious commission: KA Popov as deputy] chairman (replacing Comrade NN Popov), Kasimenko (RLKSM Central Committee), Ancelovich (All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions).

b) Propose to the Department of Female Workers to submit for approval a candidate for membership in the anti-religious] commission for the next meeting of the Secretariat.

c) Acknowledge it necessary for the anti-religious commission to conduct regular work, inviting it to make a report on its work at a meeting [of] the Organizing Bureau in 1 month [yy].

d) Clause "a" of this resolution shall be submitted for approval by the Politburo. -

Central Committee Secretary: L. M. Kaganovich

- L. 146. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on October 18, 1924; signature - facsimile. Round

stamp: "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY BOLSHEVIKS", *in the center with the monogram* "Central Committee". *Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed:* "POLITBURO". *Above is a stamp about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 30, item 45 of October 23, 1924 (No. 12-73).*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d. 604, l. 53. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark (vacation); no signature. Below is a typewritten note: "Sent to: n" b "Nikolaeva, Orgburo - October 20, 1924 to" Yaroslavsky, Popov K. - October 20, 1924 ". *A stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), minutes No. 37, paragraph 17 of October 17, 1924*

Notes and Comments:

[71] Minutes No. 33 of the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) dated 03.10.1924 contain clause 15 "Closed letter of the Vladimir Gubkom (comrade Khatayevich)", the decision on which reads:

"15.— a) To study the question of the religious movement on Sobinka and the petition to build a church, send Comrade. Krasikova.

6) Instruct Agitprop to clarify the issue of further work of the anti-religious commission, submitting to the next Secretariat its composition with the necessary changes. "

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.599, l. 3.

There is also this resolution, drawn up as an extract from Minutes No. 33, item 15 of the meeting of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) dated 03.10.1924 (leave) (p. 174).

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 30, paragraph 45 of October 23, 1924

No. 12-73

MOST SECRET.

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
45. [1] * On the composition of the anti-religious commission. (Resolution] ABOUT Z.Kh pr [report] No. 33 p. 15-6). (OB from 17.X pr [report] No. 37 p. 17) [72] .	Introduce the following comrades in addition to the anti-religious commission: Popov K. A. Deputy] chairman] (instead of Comrade N. Popov), Kasimenko (Central Committee of the RLKSM), Ancelovich (All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions).

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 145. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on October 23, 1924. In the column number of the form in the upper left corner there is a typewritten note: "P30 / -opr [wasp] -p / s". *Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed:* "Com. Popov KA, Kasimenko, Ancelovich, Deputy Chairman of the [spruce] Anti-religious] Commission comrade. Krasikov ".

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d.457, l. 76. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original on the voting form of the Politburo members by poll ("to the round-robin vote"). *At the bottom of the form, in the column* "Voting results", the *autographs of the voters, in pencil and ink:*

M. Kalinin.

I am not resigning [I am] L. Kamenev].

I don't resurrect I. Stalin.

M. Tomsky

L. Trotsky does not rise,

for N. Bukharin,

for Molotov,

for G. 3 [innoviev] ".

In the middle of the form there is a mailing record: "Com. Popov, Kasimenko, Ancelovich, Deputy Chairman of the [spruce] Antirel [religious] Commission comrade. Krasikov ". *There is no list of those present in the case.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Written in ink by hand.*

[72] See # 12-72 and comm. 71 to d. 12.

Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on excesses in the church policy of the local authorities of Georgia. From the minutes of the meeting of the Plenum No. 8, paragraph 2c of October 27, 1924

No. 12-74

MOST SECRET

Extract from the resolution on the question of Georgia, adopted at the suggestion of the Politburo commission.

Plenum of the PK RCP dated October 27, 1924

Religion.

9. In addition to paragraph 6 of the resolution of the Central Committee of the KPG of October 4-7, adopt the following resolution:

To abolish the norm of 300 signatures established by the CEC for opening a church, as well as any other administrative restrictions, giving the peasants the right to open churches. Strongly warn local authorities against any pressure or harassment against those who signed the statement on the opening of churches. Strengthen party and judicial punishments against those responsible for such persecution.

The same applies to the persecution of clergymen for the performance of their service.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 147. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on November 12, 1924. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "Com. Yenukidze, Andreev, Syrtsov. "

Resolution of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Orgburo No. 46, item 63 of November 28, 1924

No. 12-75

MOST SECRET.

Listened:	Resolved:
63. About the introduction of the representative of the Department of workers in the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee. (resolution] ABOUT 17 / X-24, pr [report] No. 37 p. 17) [73] . (Comrade Nikolaeva).	63. — a) Approve Cde. Moirov. b) Submit the question to the Politburo for approval.

SECRETARY OF THE CC L. M. Kaganovich

- L. 149. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on November 28, 1924; signature - facsimile. Round stamp: "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY BOLSHEVIKS", *in the center with the monogram* "Central Committee". *Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed:* " Politburo ". *Above is a stamp about the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes 39, item 36 of December 4, 1924 (No. 12-76).*

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 112, d.615, l. 225. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark (vacation); no signature. A stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), minutes L6 46, paragraph 63 of November 28, 1924

Notes and Comments:

[73] See # 12-72.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) on the replenishment of the composition of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b). From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 39, paragraph 36 of December 4, 1924

No. 12-76

MOST SECRET.

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:

By a survey of PB members from 4.XII.24.

36. [1] * On the introduction of a representative of the Department of Workers in the anti-religious commission of the Central Committee.	Representative of Ts.O. workers in the anti-religious commission to approve comrade. Moirov.

(Resolution] ON from 28.XI.24, pr [report] No. 46 p. 63 [74] .

SECRETARY OF THE CC

- L. 148. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on December 4, 1924. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "Com. Moirova, Syrtsov and the Secretariat of the Central Committee. "

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 466, l. 62. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. Typewritten original on the voting form of the Politburo members by poll ("to the round-robin vote"). *At the bottom of the form, in the column* "Voting results", the *autographs of the voters in pencil and ink:*

"For L. K [amenev].

for Stalin.

for M. Tomsky.

N. Bukharin was excited.

for Molotov.

for A.I. Rykov.

for G. 3 [innoviev] ".

In the middle of the form there is a mailing record: "Com. Moirova, Syrtsov and the Secretariat of the Central Committee. " *L. 4:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades . Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Stalin, Tomsky, Bukharin; candidates: Molotov, Sokolnikov, Rudzutak, Frunze, Dzerzhinsky. Members of the Central Committee Comrades Antipov, Andreev, Uglanov, Bubnov, Kaganovich, Mikhailov, Pyatakov. Members of the Central Control Commission Comrades Gusev, Yaroslavsky, Yanson, Shkiryatov, Solts ".

- RCKHIDNI, f. 17, op. 12, d.615, l. 226. Another copy of the same typewritten bookmark as fol. 148; signature - facsimile of I. V. Stalin. Round stamp: "RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY BOLSHEVIKS", in the *center with the monogram* "Central Committee". *In the mailing address, it is underlined by hand to the* "Secretariat of the Central Committee". *Below is a stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), minutes No. 46, paragraph 63 of November 28, 1924 (No. 12-75).*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Written in ink by hand.*

[74] See # 12-75.

Letter from the chairman of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) E.M. Yaroslavsky and the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR G.V. Chicherin to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with a request to adopt the provision on the Catholic doctrine in the USSR. December 6, 1924

No. 12 - 78 [76]

December 6, 1924

IN THE POLITBURO of the Central Committee of the RCP-6.

We earnestly ask you to raise the question of adopting a provision on Catholic doctrine at the next meeting of the Politburo. Comrade Commission Yaroslavsky adopted the draft of this provision. It remains only by agreement with Comrade KRASIKOV to revise some particulars, after which the final draft will be sent to the Members of the Politburo.

Back in the middle of 1923, the Politburo adopted a decision to settle this issue and instructions for this purpose were given to Comrade IORDANSKY [77]... The latter's unsuccessful negotiations with the Catholic prelates made us then suspend these negotiations. After that, the changed international situation led to the fact that the Commission of Comrade Yaroslavsky decided to approach some issues differently. The uncertain situation that has arisen now harms us greatly and may harm us even more in the now beginning of an alarming period of international politics. The point at present is solely to issue for the Catholic doctrine the same provision that we have for other faiths. For only one Catholic Church, we do not have such a position, which is extremely abnormal and which creates great inconvenience for us. When issuing such a provision, one must think that it should lead not to scandals, but to a tolerable modus vivendi.

The decisions adopted by Comrade Yaroslavsky's Commission fall into three parts [78] : 1. The Statute of the Catholic Doctrine, which is to be included in our legislative acts and published accordingly. 2.

Theses on the governance of the Catholic faith, according to which an agreement should be made between us and the Vatican, for we are talking about the principles of governing the Catholic Church, including the relationship between the Vatican and the local groups of Catholic believers. 3. Abstracts for our internal use, subject to execution and application by our administrative authorities.

Emelyan Yaroslavsky

Georgy Chicherin

6.XII.24

- L. 152. Typewritten original, signatures - autographs. Date - by the hand of E. M. Yaroslavsky. Below it is a handwritten outgoing NKID number. Above is the stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 40, item 2A with a handwritten date on the left "11 / XII-24" *(No. 12-82). Stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with handwritten date* "12 / XII-24" *and the entry number.*

Notes and Comments:

[76] In general, during 1922-1925. there were many attempts to regulate relations between the RSFSR - USSR and the Vatican through the publication of special legislative acts for the Catholic Church on the territory of the Soviet republics. The correspondence that arose periodically between high state and party authorities, on the one hand, and the Vatican, on the other, was deposited in many archival funds. So, in the Central Office of the FSB, f. 1, op. 6, d.138, l. 55-60 documents of February - March 1922, reflecting the process of drafting a decree "specially dedicated to the Catholic Church in the development of a general decree on the separation of the church from the State", have been preserved. The Cheka-GPU, the NKYu, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the Interdepartmental Meeting "took an active part in this process to develop a decree on the status of the R [imko-] K [atolic] church in Russia." In GARF, f. A-353, op. 6, d. 6, l. 30-31, 114-115; d. 9, l. 67-ob., 83-ob., 87-ob., 93; d. 23, l. 128-rev. preserved documents of April -

December 1922 concerning the withdrawal of church valuables from churches and about the agreements that arose in this connection between the RSFSR and the Vatican. Ibid, f. 5263, op. 1, d.55, l. 343-ob., 246-299, 222-ob. there are materials of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat of Justice for November 1923 - March 1924, showing the positions of these departments in negotiations with the Vatican and in relation to the proposed normative acts for the Catholic Church in the Soviet republics (in particular, in Petrograd). It should be noted that the published documents of the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) (No. 12-78-12-82) are by no means final, as is the resolution of the highest party body itself. The documents at our disposal (RCKHIDNI, f. 89, op. 4, d. 160, l. 25-39) allow us to say that that these materials reflect the initial stage in the long negotiations with the Vatican, which began in January 1925. In August 1926, the NKID, on the basis of the decisions of the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the NKJ, recognized it expedient to continue negotiations with the Vatican regarding the approved Politburo in December 1924 Statute and Regulations on the Doctrine of the Catholic Church. It can be argued unequivocally that, despite the extension of the negotiation process, these negotiations were not crowned with success and these regulations were never adopted in the Soviet Union.

[77] This refers to the resolution of the Politburo dated July 12, 1923 (minutes No. 16, item 42): see No. 12-47 (25-39), No. 25-38, as well as No. 12-45, 12-46, 12 -51, comm. 38 to d. 25.

[78] This refers to documents No. 12-79, 12-80.

The draft statute of Catholic doctrine in the USSR, proposed by the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) [Not later than December 9, 1924]

No. 12 - 79 [76]

STATUS OF CATHOLIC BELIEF

(Final text by Comrade Krasikov) [79]

1. Catholic prayer buildings (churches), in accordance with the decree on the separation of church and state, are transferred to the use of local groups of citizens of the Catholic faith.

2. Those who wish to receive the building of the church for their use, the citizens of Catholics give the Governmental Executive Committee a signature that they will use the building exclusively for their ordinary liturgical requirements, in accordance with the Roman Catholic cult, and that, taking on joint responsibility for the integrity and safety of what is transferred to them according to the inventory of church property, undertake: 1) from their own funds to pay all current expenses for the maintenance of the building and items handed over with it, such as: for repairs, insurance, heating, lighting, taxes, local taxes, etc. ., 2) none of the citizens, permanent residents of the given place, of the Catholic confession, not defamed by the court and not under investigation, should not be prevented from owning and using this property on the same grounds as them.

3. The most important economic matters, such as: overhaul of the church, the approval of an authorized representative from among their midst for the management, maintenance and maintenance of the temple in proper form, can be resolved at general meetings of the group when local authorities are notified of the day, hour and order of the meeting.

4. Catholic citizens can, from their own environment, in addition, designate a special commissioner, or a special bureau of commissioners, for current economic affairs, such as: carrying out maintenance, hiring and supervising watchmen, purchasing materials necessary for the cult, etc. P.

5. The list of their delegates, as well as the clergymen admitted by the group to worship in the temple, is submitted at the beginning of the calendar year (January 1) to the Administrative Department of the Lips. or Obl. Of the Executive Committee.

6. For all actions for the maintenance of the cult and buildings, committed illegally or to the detriment of state interests by authorized representatives and ministers of the cult, the members of the group are jointly and severally liable in terms of civil consequences, regardless of the criminal consequences in the event of criminal acts and responsibility for them directly from the perpetrators from specified personnel.

7. A group of Catholic citizens does not enjoy the rights of a legal entity, and does not have the right to enforce collection in any form from persons using the temple, as well as from their fellow believers in general.

NOTE I. Individual groups or their delegates may collect voluntary donations (collections) spent by the group solely for the needs of their local temple and for the maintenance of worshipers, and all receipts and expenses are accurately recorded in the appropriate corded ledger. NOTE II. Former church houses at Catholic churches, as a general rule, being the property of the state, are not supposed to be delivered together with the church. They can be rented on a general basis. NOTE III. The canonical rights of worshipers appointed by the central hierarchy of the Catholic organization do not define any legal rights and do not create any legal obligations for civil relations.

8. Outgoing from the central ecclesiastical administration of the Catholic Church or its autocratic head, bulls, breves, epistles, encyclicals and other all kinds of acts related to the so-called ecclesiastical jurisdiction, cannot be published, distributed and offered for implementation without a visa by the corresponding Soviet government body.

9[1]*. The termination of the use of the church, as well as the dissolution of the group and the termination of the agreement on

the use of Catholic churches is carried out by a reasoned resolution of the Governmental Executive Committee in relation to the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of 19 / IV-23, [80] with the right of appeal to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in a general manner and with the consequences specified in the circular of the People's Commissariat of Justice and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs dated 23 / TV-24, No. 62 [81] . When a group is disbanded for reasons of non-subscription or criminal prosecution, the extension to the relationship of this temple and the ministry of priests in it is not assumed.

10. The elimination of clergymen sent by central organizations can take place both at the initiative of the NKID and in a general manner.

- L. 154-156. Typewritten copy. Dated to No. 12-81, the appendix to which is the present project.

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Corrected, in* G.

[79] V GARF, f. 5263, op. 1, d.56, l. 82-83ob. there is one of the preliminary versions of the Statute with numerous handwritten corrections in the text and comments after it (see also fol. 81-rev.). Here are the following documents (without the end of the texts):

- "Rules on the procedure for opening and controlling religious courses" (fol. 86-rev.);

- "The main elements of the structure and management of the Rome [scho] -cat [olic] church in the USSR" (fol. 80-rev.);

- "Three proposals relating to the Catholic cult in the USSR, in accordance with the provision of the Constitution of the USSR on the separation of the church, from the state and on freedom of worship and confession" by the titular Bishop of Lyons Michel d'Herbigny (translation) (fol. 79-rev.).

[80] Perhaps this refers to the Instruction of the NKYU and the NKVD of April 15, 1923 (see note 44 to d. 12) or the Resolution of the NKYu

and NKVD on issues related to the implementation of the decree on the separation of church from the state, of June 19, 1923 (see: SU. 1923. No. 72. S. 1280-1284).

[81] This refers to the Circular of the NKYU and the NKVD on the liquidation and closure of churches from 23.04 1924.

- Weekly Soviet Justice. 1924. No. 18.P. 437.

Letter from the USSR People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G.V. Chicherin to the members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), the collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the Anti-Religious Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) about the distribution of documents on the Catholic doctrine in the USSR. December 9, 1924

No. 12-81 [76]

"9" December 1924

MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO.

MEMBERS OF THE NKID BOARD, etc. YAROSLAVSKY, SMIDOVICH, KRASIKOV and MENZHINSKY.

At the same time, I am sending out material with the proposals of Comrade Yaroslavsky's commission regarding the status of the Catholic doctrine.

First of all, I am sending you the draft statute of Catholic doctrine in the final text of Comrade Krasikov.

Secondly, I am sending out the main provisions on the question of the Catholic doctrine in the USSR. We are faced with an important question of principle, whether it should be stated in these basic provisions that new priests are appointed whenever possible from among the inhabitants of the USSR. A year ago we tried to have the Vatican send priests of Italians and Germans here. At present, Comrade Menzhinsky has pointed out the danger associated with this, for the Italians will be fascists, and the Germans will be Bavarians, and his proposal to appoint priests, if possible, from among our inhabitants was accepted.

In addition to the material sent out, the OGPU is instructed for internal use to develop resolutions [1] * on the conditions of movement of bishops and priests, on processions of the cross, on meetings of communities, on correspondence and in general on relations between Catholic priests with the highest levels of the

Catholic hierarchy and on prohibiting Catholic clergy from proselytizing. Some of these provisions are mentioned in the circulated theses, but must be developed in detail by the OGPU for practical application.

NARCOMINDEL Georgy Chicherin

- L. 153. Typewritten original, signature - autograph. Above is a handwritten note of the assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) L. Z. Mekhlis: " P.B. K pun [ktu] 1A. M [ehlis] ". *On the left is a typewritten outgoing number. There is also a stamp on the document's belonging to the office work of the Politburo meeting, minutes No. 40, item 2A with a handwritten date on the left* "11 / XII-24." *(No. 12-82). Stamp of the Bureau of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) with handwritten date* "10 / XII-24" *and the entry number.*

Notes and Comments:

[1] * *Corrected by handwritten ink from the originally printed* ordinance.

Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) "on the draft statute on the Catholic doctrine" in the USSR. From the minutes of the meeting of the Politburo No. 40, paragraph 2A of December 11, 1924

No. 12-82 [76]

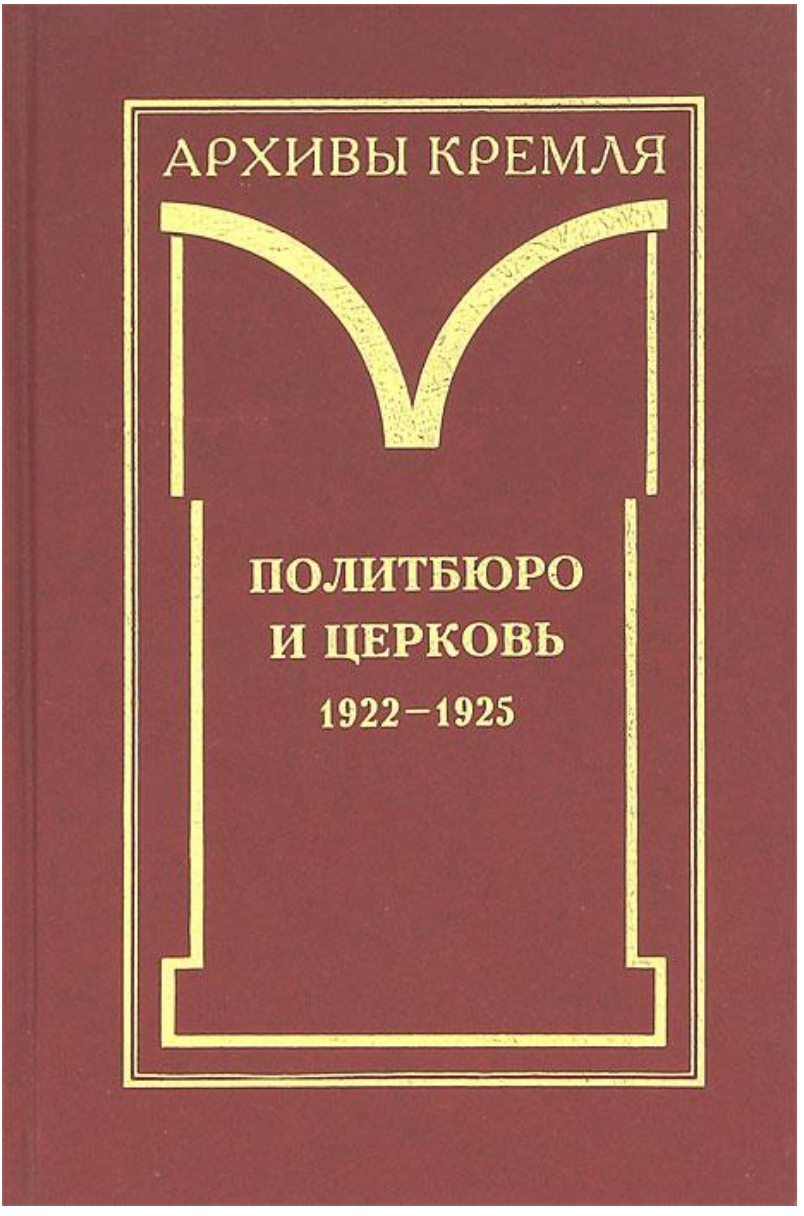
MOST SECRET.

LISTENED:	IT WAS RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS:
2. Questions of the NKID: A. On the draft regulation on the Catholic doctrine. (Comrades Chicherin, Litvinov, Yaroslavsky, Krasikov).	A. a) In principle, approve the commission's proposals. b) Propose to the commission to work out the final text of the regulation and submit it to Comrade Rykov, who will be given the right to approve it on behalf of the Politburo.

Secretary of the Central Committee

- L. 151. Typewritten extract on the letterhead of the Central Committee of the RCP (b), made on December 11, 1924. Above the text of the extract, the mailing address is printed: "com. Chicherin, Rykov, Gorbunov, Yaroslavsky. "

- APRF, f. 3, op. 1, d. 467, l. 6. Draft minutes of the Politburo meeting. The original on the form of the Politburo resolutions, the column "They listened" *on a typewriter, the column* "Decided" *by hand. In the left column in the list of speakers, the name* "Litvinov" *is written by hand. At the bottom right is the mailing record:* "Extract com. Chicherin, Rykov, Gorbunov, Yaroslavsky. " *L. 4:* "Present: members of the Politburo Comrades. Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, Rykov. Candidates: com. Molotov, Kalinin, Rudzutak, Sokolnikov, Frunze, Dzerzhinsky. Members of the Central Committee: comrades. Bubnov, Pyatakov, Chubar, Kviring, Mikoyan, Antipov, Voroshilov, Mikhailov, Kaganovich, Smirnov A.P., Smilga. Members of the Central Control Commission: comrades. Gusev, Shkiryatov, Yanson, Yaroslavsky ".


АРХИВЫ КРЕМЛЯ
ПОЛИТБЮРО
И ЦЕРКОВЬ
1922–1925



Kremlin Archives
Polit Buro and Church
N.Pokrovsky, S.G Petrov
Book 1

The main objective is to give reference to, familiarize with the context of transcripts and make them available and accessible to the largest possible readers.

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